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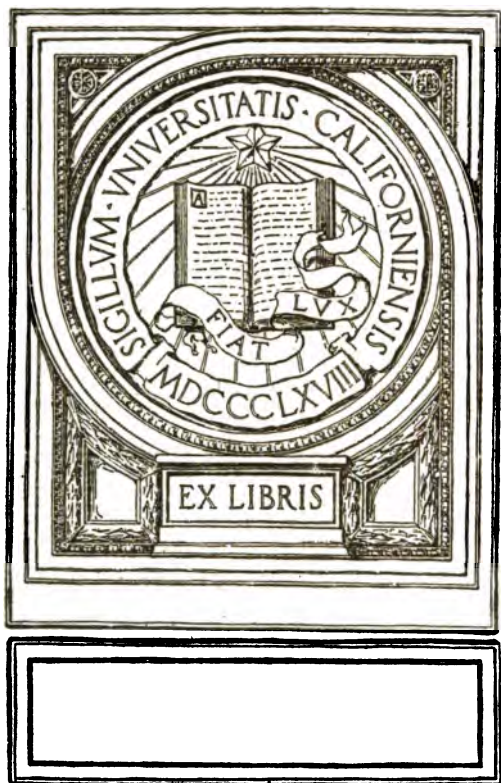
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**PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.**

Property is the creature of society, and society is entitled to the last farthing whenever society needs it.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE
Socialist Labor Party

HELD IN
NEW YORK CITY
JUNE 2 TO JUNE 8, 1900.

Stenographically Reported by B. F. KEINARD

**WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE CONSTITUTION AND
PLATFORM OF THE PARTY, AND NUMEROUS
HISTORIC AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS**

NEW YORK
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
1901

HX 89
-S6
1900

The emancipation of the Working Class
must be the class conscious work of the
Working Class.

—KARL MARX.

TO THE
ADMINISTRATOR

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In the report of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party to the Tenth National Convention allusion is frequently made, in detailing the Kangaroo conspiracy, to certain articles relative to that conspiracy that originally appeared in *The People*, as well as to official statements and calls for a general vote, which were the direct result of that conspiracy. So far as the delegates to the convention were concerned, they were familiar with the documents, having been for the most part active participants in the skirmish. Inasmuch, however, as this report will be read by many persons who are not familiar with those documents, they are included as an Appendix to the Proceedings. To those who desire accurate information relative to the now historic struggle for the triumph of clear-cut revolutionary Socialism in America, the documents are recommended.

The appellation "Kangaroo" to the conspirators was first made in *The People*—in the article "Three Cheers For the S. L. P.!"—just after the episode of July 10th. To those unfamiliar with the evolution of the term, the following note taken from the "Letter Box" of *The People* for July 30, 1899, will render the Proceedings and appended documents more intelligible:

P. C., CANTON, O.—The designation of "Kangaroos," given to the collection of frauds who presumed to call themselves the "General Committee" of Section Greater New York is not wholly an original witticism of this office. It is the application of a Southwesternism. In the early fifties it was a common thing, in many parts of the territory taken or bought from Mexico, for four or five scamps, from among the refuse of the American adventurers that flocked thither, to foregather at a village and set themselves up as the "Federal District Court"; one would act as Judge, another as District Attorney, a third as Court Clerk, a fourth as Crier, a fifth as U. S. Marshal, etc., and they would proceed to "do business." The population, mainly "Greasers," were often taken in: they were "summoned" to appear, were "tried" and "convicted" and "fined," and a levy was made. As soon as the cash and other valuables were in hand, the "Court" would dissolve and disappear, to suddenly turn up again at some other place. The kangaroo-like conduct of these "Courts" of making a leap forward, suddenly standing up on their haunches, filling up their pouches, and then leaping on again, gave these

fraudulent concerns the name of "kangaroos." The similarity that the conduct of the "Volkzeitung" crew bears to those of the Southwestern "Kangaroo Courts" is striking; hence the application of the name to them.

One of the most interesting debates of the convention occurred over the Platform. In order that the careful reader may compare the two platforms—the old and the new—while reading the debate, they have been included in the Appendix.

Important constitutional changes were made by the convention, and later indorsed by a referendum vote. Among them may be mentioned the following:

According to the 1896 constitution, the National Executive Committee was elected by the Sections at the seat of the Committee. According to the new constitution the Committee is elected by a referendum vote.

According to the 1896 constitution, the National Secretary was elected by the Sections at the seat of the National Executive Committee. According to the new constitution the Secretary is elected by the convention, subject to approval by a referendum vote.

According to the 1896 constitution, the Editor of *The People* was chosen by the National Executive Committee. According to the new constitution, he is elected by the national convention, subject to approval by a referendum vote.

According to the 1896 constitution the congressional district was the basis of representation in the national convention. According to the new constitution the basis of representation is the State.

According to the 1896 constitution, no specific restrictions were imposed as to membership in the Party, provided the platform and constitution were acknowledged. According to the new constitution, officers in pure and simple trade unions are debarred from membership in the Party.

In order that the old constitution and the new may be compared as the debates on the various amendments are read, both of them are included in the Appendix.

The principal subjects discussed by the convention have been classified and indexed at the end of the volume.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
Saturday, June 2, 1900.

The convention was called to order at 10.30 a. m. by Henry Kuhn, the National Secretary, with the following remarks:

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party I herewith call to order this Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party. [Applause.] In the name of the National Executive Committee, I extend greetings to the delegates assembled from all over the country, hoping that this convention will put the Party forward a mighty step, as much of a step as the '96 convention has done. A few words as to the instrument with which this convention has been opened. [Applause.] Do not be under the impression that conventions of the Socialist Labor Party are always opened with a mallet; but there is a history connected with this mallet. This mallet, in the hands of men on the night of July 10 last, was used as an instrument for the purpose of destroying the Socialist Labor Party and swinging it off its path. The mallet is now a trophy of the Socialist Labor Party, having been wrested by the loyal members of the Party from the hands of the invaders, and it is but fitting that the convention of the S. L. P. should be opened with this gavel. I might say that when we got it, it did not look as pretty as it looks now; it was rather unadorned; since then a New York comrade has put a bow on it. We shall now go to work without much further ado, and I call upon you for nominations for a temporary chairman.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

Delegate Thomas Curran, of Rhode Island, was unanimously chosen Temporary Chairman, and, on taking the platform, spoke as follows:

COMRADE DELEGATES.—It is of course unnecessary for me to say anything about the appreciation I feel for the honor you have con-

ferred upon me in placing me in the post of temporary chairman at the opening of this convention. There have been other conventions of the Socialist Labor Party, and every one of them historic. That of '96, as the National Secretary has mentioned, was eventful for the stride it took and the stride it gave to the Socialist movement in the United States, but this one of 1900, at the opening of the twentieth century, promises, in view of our recent history in New York City and elsewhere throughout the country, to push the Socialist movement on with greater impetus and send it forward to greater achievements. The Socialist Labor Party, starting out in this year 1900, no doubt will take a position that will leave it clear before the country and before the wage-workers of the country as to what it proposes to accomplish and what means it proposes to employ to accomplish its ends. With other parties posing before the people as Socialist parties, with the so-called "respectable" party—the Social Democratic Party—and with that other mongrel now known as the "Kangaroos," it is fitting and time for the genuine, bona fide, proletarian, Socialist movement as represented by the Socialist Labor Party, to be laid before the proletarians of the country in as uncompromising and clear-cut a manner as is possible. The time is past when we can afford to stop and consider the objections of this and that freak who happened to belong to us. We have now come to the time when we must cut our lines clear and sharp and push out those who do not belong to us, and understand that in future, if we are going to make any progress at all, it is by having in our ranks as our workers those who understand what we want and propose to get it and use just the means and just the methods that are necessary to obtain it. [Applause.] For my part, I do not believe in speeches at conventions. I believe we are sent here to work, and the comrades who have sent us here have done so with the idea that we know just what is needed for the Socialist Labor Party and can take the means necessary to put it in a position to attain its ends without too much talk or too much deliberation. Consequently I shall not take any further time in any sort of speech over the Socialist Labor Party and its prospects. We will let the work of the convention itself tell the tale after the convention has adjourned. I therefore call for nominations for temporary vice-chairman.

Delegate W. S. Dalton, of Washington, was unanimously chosen Temporary Vice-Chairman, and Delegate B. F. Keinard, of New York City, Temporary Secretary.

A motion was then made and seconded to elect a Committee on Credentials to consist of five members.

Delegate Wolfson made a motion, seconded by Delegate Noonan, to amend, by striking out the number "five" and inserting "a number equal to the number of States represented in the convention as far as can be surmised at the present time," on the ground (1) that there may be States not able to be rightly judged by a committee from five different States not including their own; (2) that it is not certain that there are not

Kangaroos in the Party still, and that, if there are, the Kangaroos should also be represented; (3) that it will be necessary to give satisfaction all around to have as nearly as possible a member from every State.

Delegate KEEP. It seems to me that the credentials committee to be appointed by this convention has simply perfunctory work to perform. I do not see any Kangaroos here, and I do not know of any coming here. If any come, they should be treated the same as last July. [Applause.] This being a convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and the Kangaroos having attempted a revolution—a revolution that put its foot into its mouth right away after it began—it seems such a small, idiotic thing as to be altogether unreasonable to take any notice of it whatsoever. [Applause.] It seems to me that the day for “harmony” has gone by; we are not here for “harmony;” we are harmonious and I do not see any Kangaroos. And it is just as easy for five to settle this matter as it is for nineteen or twenty. I therefore am opposed to the amendment and stand for the original motion. [Applause.]

Delegate Kinneally moved the previous question; seconded and carried, with one dissenting voice.

The vote on the amendment was then taken. Lost, with two voting in favor.

The original motion was then carried, with Delegate Wolfson alone voting in the negative.

The following delegates were then elected as members of the Committee on Credentials: Joseph H. Sweeny, Raasch, Minkley, Eberle and Connelly.

On motion, the following-named delegates were elected as Committee on Rules and Regulations: O’Fihelly, Lawry, Forker, Glanz and Matthews.

A recess of forty-five minutes was then taken, to give the committees time to report. The committees then being ready to report, the convention was again called to order.

Before receiving the report of the Committee on Credentials, Delegate Keep, on behalf of the Entertainment Committee of D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., and Section New York, S. L. P., invited the delegates to attend the reception to be given in their honor Sunday afternoon and evening, consisting of a vaudeville entertainment and dancing, to commence at 5 o’clock, dancing at 8.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The Committee on Credentials, through its Chairman, Delegate Eberle, then made its report, recommending the seating of the following delegates:

CALIFORNIA—

Tenth Congressional District—H. J. Schade.

CONNECTICUT—

First Congressional District, S. G. Harrison; Second Congressional District, Michael Bomstead; Third Congressional District, Adam Marx.

ILLINOIS—

First and Eighth Congressional Districts—Paul Kretlow.

MASSACHUSETTS—

First Congressional District, Dennis Carney and Robert McKeown; Second Congressional District, James T. Noonan; Fifth Congressional District, Joseph V. Schugel; Sixth Congressional District, Louis Wolfson; Seventh Congressional District, Joseph F. Malloney; Eighth Congressional District, Herman W. A. Raasch; Ninth Congressional District, James H. Jenness; Tenth Congressional District, Henry C. Hess; Twelfth Congressional District, Jer. O'Fihelly; Thirteenth Congressional District, John Sweeney.

MARYLAND—

Third Congressional District—Robert W. Stevens.

MINNESOTA—

Fourth Congressional District—George F. Spettel.

MICHIGAN—

First and Third Congressional Districts—Melko Meyer.

MISSOURI—

Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Congressional Districts—William Billsbarrow. . .

NEW JERSEY—

Fifth Congressional District, William Glanz; Seventh Congressional District, John J. Connelly.

NEW YORK—

First Congressional District, Christian Bakke; Seventh Congressional District, John H. Moore; Eighth to Fifteenth Congressional Districts, Herman Simpson, Charles G. Teche, Patrick Murphy, John J. Kinneally, Rudolph Katz, Daniel De Leon, Lucien Sanial, Max Forker, Alvin S. Brown, Arthur Keep, Benjamin F. Kelnard, Thomas A. Hickey, Hugo Vogt, Julian Pierce; Sixteenth Congressional District, Joseph H. Sweeny and Charles Zolot; Seventeenth Congressional District, Edward Gidley; Nineteenth Congressional District, Lawrence A. Boland; Twenty-First Congressional District, Everett L. Lake; Twenty-Second Congressional District, F. B. Stowe; Twenty-Fifth Congressional District, Emilie Nuessle; Twenty-Seventh Congressional District, Thomas Crimmins and Patrick Walsh; Twenty-Eighth Congressional District, C. W. House; Thirty-First Congressional District, C. A. Luedecke; Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Congressional Districts, Boris Reinstein.

OHIO—

Eighteenth Congressional District, Samuel Borton; Twentieth and Twenty-First Congressional Districts, James Matthews, Paul Dinger and John Kircher.

PENNSYLVANIA—

First to Sixth Congressional Districts, Leonard Fish; Seventh Congressional District, D. C. Wismer; Eleventh Congressional District, John H. Gray; Twentieth Congressional District, D. L. Munro; Twenty-First Congressional District, Wm. H. Thomas; Twenty-Second Congressional District, Charles Rupp; Twenty-Third Congressional District, Wm. J. Eberle; Twenty-Seventh Congressional District, C. H. Jacobson; Twenty-Eighth Congressional District, Arthur Vardy.

RHODE ISLAND—

First Congressional District—Thomas Curran.

WISCONSIN—

Fourth and Fifth Congressional Districts—Carl Minkley.

WASHINGTON—

Congressional District-at-Large—W. S. Dalton.

Following are the names of the delegates not yet arrived, but reported:

New York—Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Congressional Districts, William D. Stewart.

Rhode Island—First Congressional District, Charles Kroll; Second Congressional District, James P. Reid.

Texas—Twelfth Congressional District, Frank Leitner.

The committee reported that the credentials of the California delegate, H. J. Schade, had not yet arrived, and recommended that he be seated temporarily.

The committee reported that California would probably send E. T. Kingsley, in addition to Delegate Schade.

ALTERNATE DELEGATES.

Following is the list of alternate delegates:

New York—Eighth to Fifteenth Congressional Districts: S. Schulberg, J. Hammer, E. Siff, S. D. Cooper, Justus Ebert, Joseph Wright, D. Rondani, H. Eckstein, C. E. Crawford, George B. Cook, J. Seidel, H. F. Doelman, J. Levitch, P. Malorana.

Connecticut—Second Congressional District, Ernest T. Oatley.

Missouri—Twelfth Congressional District, E. C. Dickman.

Pennsylvania—Twentieth Congressional District, C. A. Danielson; Twenty-Second Congressional District, William Adams; Twenty-Third Congressional District, William I. Marshall; Twenty-Fourth Congressional District, E. A. Hepting; Eleventh Congressional District, J. S. Dreher.

The committee reported that the seat of Thomas Lawry, of the Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania Congressional District, was contested by E. A. Hepting, and that the committee, by a vote of 4 to 1, recommended that Lawry be seated.

The motion was then made and seconded to adopt the report of

the Committee on Credentials and seat all the delegates who had presented credentials and the other delegates whose credentials had not yet arrived. Carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND REGULATIONS.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations thereupon submitted the following report:

The committee recommends that the order of business for this day be as follows:

1. Organization.

a. Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

b. Election of a permanent Secretary to act in conjunction with Comrade Kuhn, National Secretary of the S. L. P.

c. Election of a permanent Sergeant-at-Arms and permanent Page.

2. Report of the National Executive Committee.

3. Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining to the same.

4. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions pertaining to it.

5. Election of Committee on Attitude of the Party Towards Trade Unionism.

6. Election of Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

7. Election of Committee on Party Press.

8. Election of Auditing Committee.

9. Roll-call of delegates for the introduction of resolutions for reference to committees.

The committee further recommends that the following order of business be used for each day after this first day:

1. Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman for each day.

2. Communications.

3. Report of committees and action thereon.

4. Unfinished business.

5. New business.

6. The last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be referred to the appropriate committees after being read.

7. That the morning sessions extend from 9 a. m. to 12 m., and the afternoon sessions from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m.

The committee further recommends that on the last day of the convention the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States be the first order of business.

A motion was then made and seconded that the report be adopted as read.

Delegate Keep moved to amend that the first order of business of each session of each day should be the roll-call of delegates. Seconded.

Delegate Reinstein moved to amend that the election of commit-

tees take precedence over the report of the National Executive Committee. The motion was lost.

The report of the Committee on Rules and Regulations, with the amendment of Delegate Keep, was then adopted.

Chairman Eberle of the Committee on Credentials made a supplemental report, stating that he found Delegate Petersen, of the Eighth to Fifteenth Congressional Districts, New York, and Delegate George Rose, of the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut, entitled to seats as delegates. Moved, seconded and carried that these two delegates be seated.

The convention then proceeded to the election of a chairman for the day. Delegate De Leon was unanimously elected, and on taking the chair, spoke as follows:

Delegate DE LEON. It is customary that the permanent chairman should say a few words. In view of the lateness of the hour, I may convey the information to you of the length and importance of the National Executive Committee's report. I shall compromise the two and say very little, so as to give the floor to the National Executive Committee. The Socialist Labor Party, together with its National Convention, of 1900, is not simply four years older than it was four years ago; it is fully forty years older. During the last four years, not only from within but from without, a logical evolution has taken place, revolutionary in many features. Political parties in all countries, particularly in this country where they have a legal standing and are recognized by law, are not things of air. They develop as everything else of that nature. During the last four years, on the outside, economic and political development have gone on in a way that clears the field in America as it clears it in no other country under the sun. Not only are the two capitalist parties, the one of uncompromising capitalism, the other of alleged revolution—the Democratic Party—not only are they here clear cut, but they have absorbed to themselves all the petty parties that sprang up four years ago and logically belong to them. During this campaign they will absorb all the other bogus parties that may yet spring up like little weeds in a forest of oaks. This development has gone on obedient to the economic development in part, but the economic development is not an inanimate thing. It has been helped along by the action of the Socialist Labor Party itself. But for the action of the Socialist Labor Party, the political field could not possibly be as clear and as clean as it is to-day. [Applause.] Owing to the uncompromising political attitude of the Socialist Labor Party, not withholding a blow to make a friend, nor abstaining from telling the truth for the sake of avoiding the enemy, plowing its path right through the storm, the points of the political compass have been made clearer as we have gone along.

This convention, as has been foreshadowed by our National Secretary, has important work to do. To a great extent the work before it will be the completion of the building reared four years ago. Those of you who were here then will remember the battle royal that was

fought for three successive days and won at last for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat against the influences of the labor fakir and the capitalist heelers, who, within and without the convention, tried to control its action. This convention will have some further important work to do in that direction. It will have important constitutional changes to make, it will have important paths to open, and in view of the tremendousness of its work and the time it will take to do it, I shall stop this speech now. And yet I cannot take my seat and open the floor for further nominations to complete the organization without extending to you the fraternal hand and receiving from you the hand-shake which you give in the name of the rank and file of the Socialist Labor Party and say a word on the fierce and yet invigorating struggle that the Party has gone through during the last four years, culminating on the last 10th of July. Some may imagine it was a personal quarrel. People who take no trouble to fathom truths like to look at things superficially and impute the actions of movements to personal animosities. Fact is there is hardly ever any personal animosity that cuts any figure on such occasions. The Socialist Labor Party, being the Party of class-conscious workers, has placed the motto that you see above this platform under the picture of Marx: "The Emancipation of the Working Class Must be the Class-Conscious Work of the Working-Class." The S. L. P. is not a compound of men who are of the working class and yet marshalled by the lieutenants of capitalism; it is composed of workmen, members of the working class, who move class-consciously. And accordingly, being such a movement, it also proceeds by the light of that rudimentary principle, which you will notice at the other end of the hall, uttered over a hundred years ago, by that one revolutionary father against whom never a voice has been raised, namely, Franklin: "Property is the creature of society, and society is entitled to the last farthing whenever society needs it." [Applause.] The motto above the platform is the means; the other is the end; the Socialist Labor Party the vehicle to carry it through. [Applause.]

Delegate Dalton was then elected Vice-Chairman for the day, Delegate Keinard Permanent Secretary of the convention, and Comrade Kelly, of Section New York, was elected Permanent Sergeant-at-Arms and Permanent Page. Upon the election of the Sergeant-at-Arms, the chairman, reverting to the subject of Kangaroo delegates, stated that if any should be found, they would come entirely under the jurisdiction of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Recess was then taken until 2.30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session opened at 3 p. m.

Chairman Eberle of the Committee on Credentials reported the arrival of Delegate McTier, of the Third Congressional District of

Virginia, and of the alternate Robert Johnson, from the Nineteenth Congressional District of New York, and recommended that they be seated. Approved.

The report of the National Executive Committee for the preceding four years was thereupon submitted by Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

[After reading for some time, the National Secretary, on account of the condition of his voice, discontinued reading, reserving the remainder of the report for the following day. In order that there may be continuity, the report is given here in full.]

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTORY.

Never before has a National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party met under circumstances so auspicious as those that attend this national gathering of the Party's representatives. Of the three National Conventions that have taken place within the last eight years, each marks a distinct epoch in the Party's development.

The one of 1893 truly reflected its then composition. With a membership chiefly centered in a few large cities, and principally composed of men of foreign birth and habits of thought, who, in trying to shape its course, were naturally swayed by the traditions of the movements they had been engaged in on the other side of the Atlantic, the work was up-hill and progress slow. The Party had just come fresh from an internal struggle, which, by retrospection and in the light of subsequent events, appears like a little family affair, both in its scope and in regard to the questions involved. Political action was but sporadic. It was a time when we had just gotten out of the habit of deciding each year whether to go into the election or not. Men of English speech were as scarce in the Party as hen's teeth; and of the few there were, many were not much good, if this paradox be permitted.

The '93 convention marked the close of that epoch, for during the next three years, up to the convention of 1896, there was considerable of a transformation. The Party waxed stronger, the work of agitation was more intense, and organization went on at a more lively gait, as has been amply set forth in the report rendered to that convention. Action at the polls became a matter of course, whenever there was enough organization to conduct a campaign. The composition of the organization changed; sections were formed of English-speaking workingmen; and when, in 1896, the convention met in New York City, that gathering of delegates marked and reflected a state of affairs utterly different from that of 1893. Such was the change in the make-up of the Party's membership that it had become possible to proclaim and to sustain the aggressive policy inaugurated by the '96 convention, which policy found its most marked expression in the endorsement of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, an endorsement equivalent to a declaration of war to the knife to the labor fakir, this product peculiar to American political conditions, where the capitalist class—dependent upon the votes of the workers for its

political supremacy, wherewith to buttress its economic citadel—is compelled to watch every movement of the working class and to try and control them all through its agents, the labor fakirs.

It stands to reason that such a complete breaking away from the traditions of the past was necessarily attended with considerable friction, the more so when in the practical application of that aggressive policy, the militants stacked up against the material interests that clustered around the fakir-led pure and simple trade unions. Such was the power brought to bear by the logic of the situation, and the position taken was to such an extent in accord with a correct interpretation of the theory of the class struggle as applied by the light of American conditions, that what opposition there could be found among the delegates to the convention was completely overwhelmed, for when after an exhaustive debate, lasting several days, the vote was taken on the resolution embodying the new policy, 71 out of 78 delegates voted aye, only 6 votes being cast against, while one abstained from voting. The six, it may be said *en passant*, were equally divided between two categories of members that played their little role later on, there being just three pure and simplers and three members of the small middle class, not one of whom is in the Party to-day. But from that time on and as soon as these hostile elements got home, back under the sway of middle class and pure and simple interests, they at once began to "bore from within," and set themselves the task of rendering nugatory and, if possible, overthrow the action of the convention which was, moreover, overwhelmingly sustained by the general vote of the Party. Overt and covert resistance, mostly the latter, was offered to retard, obstruct and prevent the practical application of the Party policy, until finally, after a chain of remarkable events which we shall, in brief outline, sketch in this report, a carefully laid, but clumsily executed conspiracy culminated in the midnight attempt of July 10, 1899, to seize the Socialist Labor Party, its archives and its press and force it back into its old, wisely abandoned rut—Kangarooism, the latest and withal the most grotesque freak-phenomenon of the freakish side of American politics, had been born.

It may be put down as an axiom that the history of the Party during the past four years, the period covered by this report, is in the main the history of the contests, both local and national, that revolved around the Party policy as laid down by the '96 convention and faithfully carried out, as far as lay in their power, by the successive National Executive Committees and by the Party organs. It was but natural that these should be most bitterly assailed and denounced; and the "abusive language" heaped upon both by freak and fakir in and outside the Party, was a sure indication that we were moving along correct lines, the correct lines laid down by the convention of '96.

SUCCESSIVE HOUSECLEANINGS.

The first nest of treason that had to be dealt with and torn up by the roots, was a sort of legacy left over from the '96 convention. That convention had to deal with a St. Louis publication, *Labor*, a vicious sheet, an aspirant for the position of national official organ, which aspirations were rudely squelched by the '96 convention. Around this

sheet had gathered a few men who were in the S. L. P. for the sake of the injury they could do it, and who, with the aid of this publication, had succeeded in thoroughly poisoning the St Louis Section. But the logic of their very position sooner or later drives such men into an attitude that enables the Party to take hold of and expel them. In January, 1897, the St. Louis Section readmitted to membership a man named Priesterbach who, in 1896 had left the Party to "work" for Bryan and for silver, possibly also for some greenbacks. Objection was raised by the loyal members and the vote stood 28 to 24, a majority of only four in favor of admittance, much less than the two-third majority demanded by the constitution when objections are raised. The section, for all that, insisted that Priesterbach was regularly admitted and refused to abide by the constitution. Upon receipt of a petition signed by a number of loyal members, the N. E. C. suspended and reorganized that section. The men who had thus continually opposed and finally openly defied the S. L. P., naturally and speedily gravitated towards the Debs Democracy. Fortunately, they are there yet.

THE JEWISH PRESS CONFLICT.

This difficulty also existed in embryo at the time of the last convention. A set of international rolling stones, naturally of anarchistic proclivities, to whom the Party was but an object to practice their divers notions on, had for some time kept up a constant turmoil. A board of arbitration, the members of which were selected by the contending factions themselves, had been appointed by the N. E. C. to settle the dispute, which consisted of nothing but a contest for control. Both sides solemnly promised to abide by the decision, which promise was promptly broken by the side against whom the decision went. The '96 convention sought to keep this trouble out of the party organization by severing all connection with the Jewish press, but subsequent experience showed that this theory did not work at all. The opposition at once organized so-called "Press Clubs," which organizations speedily developed into caucuses to control and determine beforehand every action of the S. L. P. Assembly District organizations in the Jewish quarter. Naturally, these men finally drifted into an attitude of open rebellion against the Party, and the trouble reached an acute stage after a general vote, called for by the N. E. C., had again placed the press under Party control. The difficulty was soon past mending and it was then ended with a firm hand. Section New York proceeded to suspend and to at once reorganize the Fourth, Eighth, and Twelfth Assembly Districts, keeping a strict watch on those who were admitted and carefully sifting the material. The disturbing element, suddenly finding itself on the outside, also naturally gravitated toward the Debs Democracy and the Debs Democracy still has them, much to our relief. Along with them went their followers in several other places, Boston for instance, where our organization has also been kept in a state of constant disturbance, but, of course, on a smaller scale.

THE KANGAROO EXODUS.

It has been pointed out before that the history of the Party during the last four years is the history of the struggle for and against the Party's trade union policy. Nowhere was this clearer or the struggle waged more bitterly than in the city of New York. To describe the

contest waged in New York, is to describe it in its national significance, because all the elements that went to make up the national Kangaroo fraternity were present here: the pure and simpler, the small trader, the shyster lawyer, other professional men, the *Volkszeitung*, gradually developing into the pseudo-Socialist paper that it has become, together with its hangers-on, its "journalists;" the freak, the fakir, the all-around degenerate, and last, though by no means least, the "alte deutsche Genosse" (old German comrade) who "was a Socialist for the last fifty or more years" and had been made to believe by "his paper," the *Volkszeitung*, that the S. L. P. was his property, so to speak, which had been converted, by mal-administration, into an anti-German concern, which the "alte Genosse" was to rescue, cleanse and repair. Most of these folks were Socialists by force of habit and tradition rather than from a live understanding of the conditions prevailing in this country. They had, most of them, come here at a ripe age with set ideas; had lived in German "colonies;" worked in industries largely controlled by Germans; scarcely ever rubbed elbows with the native element of the working class, whose habits of thought and general make-up were as foreign to them as the language and the institutions of the country of their adoption. Cut off from the movement abroad, they had not even been able to keep abreast of that, and they never were able to understand ours. Through the vicious influence of pseudo-Socialist papers like the *Volkszeitung*, there had been drilled into them a sort of German Socialist-Jingoism, which term we are forced to use for want of a better. Many of them would condescendingly admit that a non-German, more particularly an English-speaking person, might by dint of strenuous effort learn to understand a good deal about Socialism; but, become a full-fledged Socialist—never! That high state of development they complacently thought that Providence had reserved for them, and for them only.

And let no one believe that this picture is overdrawn. It has been taken from life. A correct understanding of this peculiar feature is indispensable to correctly size up much of what there is of and in Kangaroolism. In so far as these men were workingmen, they were, for the most, trade unionists. At one time, when they formed their trade organizations during the latter part of the seventies and during the early eighties, they formed them separate and distinct from the American pure and simple article, called them "progressive unions," and, in some cases, took up the fight against the pure and simple corruptionists.

They were ill equipped for such a fight. In the course of time, when immigration dwindled away and cut off the only influx of new blood they could hope for, these organizations, largely composed of men well advanced toward middle age, began to at first stagnate, and then degenerate. Their vigor and virility ebbing away, they ceased to be fighting organizations, began to develop mutual benefit features and, one by one, they gradually dropped into and were swallowed up by pure and simple national organizations of the A. F. of L. type.

It was this element solely that for many years controlled the Party and vicinity, until gradually a new element had grown up around it, young, vigorous, militant, very largely the result of the work *The People* had been doing for years. When the new had ripened sufficient-

ly, it began to reach for the reins so long held by incapable hands, and then the fun began.

Such was the situation shortly after the '96 convention, when the work of undermining the Party's policy was begun. Under one pretext or another the opposition forced questions connected with this policy to a general vote of the section's membership. They were beaten each time by considerable majorities, and the militants held the fort, but the opposition succeeded in one thing that they were probably looking for, namely, to keep the organization constantly agitated and thus keep that policy in an unfixed, unsettled state, hanging fire as it were, retarding and often preventing its practical application. They had probably hoped also to obtain another result: to wear out, exhaust, and finally disgust the loyal majority, but the bulk of these understood too well the vital importance of the question involved and, instead of letting up, became more determined than ever.

During all this time the *Volkzeitung*, not daring as yet to show its hand and come out for an open conflict, filled the mission of an underground center of disloyalty, publishing pro-Alliance articles without making a wry face when they were written by loyal comrades and, on the whole, keeping on the shady side of the question. But the paper was soon to come to a place where the roads forked, and where it became imperative to choose one or the other. The Alliance forged ahead, the strike at Seidenberg's cigar factory came along where the Alliance men went out with the rest only to be basely betrayed and swindled out of their jobs by the strike committee of the International Cigarmakers' Union when a back-door "settlement" was made with the firm. This act of treachery was mercilessly exposed in *The People*, causing a flurry of excitement among the cigarmaker labor fakirs. To explain away and to gloss over the ugly features of the affair, they made violent efforts to gain access to the columns of *The People*; and, to improve their chances, they shoved to the front and used as a cat-paw one of their local unions (No. 90), which had the reputation of being a "Socialist" union—in the Kangaroo sense of the term, of course, which means that the S. L. P. campaign fund gets a donation shortly before election, which donation is supposed to give the "Socialist" union carte blanche to stand by and work with the labor fakirs the rest of the year.

STRAWS THAT SHOW WHENCE THE WIND BLEW.

The chances of Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 to get into the columns of *The People* via the N. E. C. were, perhaps, thought all the better because one Henry Stahl, the Secretary of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, who was a cigarmaker but held on to his union card for the sake of the sick and death benefit, was a member of the N. E. C. Accordingly, they used to turn up in committee at various times, three, four, or five abreast, asking publication for a number of vapid statements gotten up in rather curious language. So long as these statements were offered in an alleged refutation of what *The People* had said upon the "Seidenberg Spectre," they were refused publication for the reason that they never attempted to refute, but indulged in all sorts of vague, puerile talk, carefully evading the point at issue, namely, that the International Union had scabbed against the Alli-

ance. Stahl, of course, true to the Kangaroo principle that his union comes first and his Party second, did what he could to help them along, but failed. He afterwards wrote a letter to his union, full of half-truths, concealing the other half, adding a few falsehoods, and then drawing conclusions. This letter was, as goes without saying, written for publication, and was promptly published shortly before the election of 1898, and circulated to injure the Party's vote in the Sixteenth Assembly District. The matter was promptly taken up by the N. E. C., a resolution of censure was introduced, on which action was deferred until after election. After that, Section Pittsburg, Pa., having secured the support of a number of other sections, submitted for a general vote the proposition to remove Stahl from the N. E. C., as unworthy. This motion no doubt would have been carried, but Stahl kangarooed after July 10, 1899, and thus thought to escape ignominious removal for breach of trust.

In the meantime, the Board of Directors of the *Volkszeitung*, or, to be more exact, of the "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association," which publishes the *Volkszeitung*, and acted also for the Party as publishers of *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, had begun to show its hand. The first attempt consisted in a demand for joint jurisdiction upon communications from trade unions rejected by the editor of *The People*. This was refused on the ground that the N. E. C. had no power to delegate its control over the contents of the Party organs by sharing it with some one else, least of all with a body representing an organization composed in part of non-Party members.

By this time the year 1898 was drawing to a close and matters had come to a pass which made it clear to all who cared to see, that the break was not far off; that the crisis would soon be reached, and the old and the new would part company. Thus far, the enemy had always hypocritically professed not to be opposed to the Alliance policy as such—Oh, no! only to its application, to certain acts, sayings, thoughts, maybe, in connection with that subject, which, according to them, "were not at all in keeping with the intentions of the '96 convention."

THE VOLKSZEITUNG SHOWS ITS HAND.

The *Volkszeitung*, too, had not dared thus far to come out openly. It had hedged, discriminated against the straightforward Party standpoint wherever and whenever it could do so without running any risks, but finally, somewhat unconsciously, it crossed the danger line. In the absence of the editor, one of his underlings, a non-Party member named Grunzig, ran up against the buzz-saw, much in the style of a boy who monkeys with a gun not knowing that it is loaded. This was in December, '98. An editorial article appeared in the *Volkszeitung* wherein the Party policy as such was attacked, and a policy of "boring from within" the old trade union was recommended. From what we knew then and could learn subsequently, there was perhaps not much premeditation behind the outbreak. The writer, utterly ignorant of the practical work of the movement, and therefore impervious to the extreme tension that filled the atmosphere, seems to have simply succumbed to the general feeling of hostility against the Party with which nearly the whole staff of the *Volkszeitung* was thoroughly saturated. Two

days later the attack was renewed. All further restraint was then set aside. *The People* opened up on the treacherous sheet and the battle was on.

THE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT.

At first the matter came up in the Board of Directors of the Publishing Association. There, the Party had a clear majority, for even some of the later Kangaroos, members of that body, were then quite indignant at the break made. They fell by the wayside later on when logical conclusions had to be drawn from given premises—something a sentimentalist, or a man with other than proletarian interests who has strayed into the Socialist movement, can scarcely ever do successfully.

At any rate, the editor of the *Volkszeitung* was censured by the Board for having violated the very constitution of the Association, which distinctly provides for the support of the "principles and tactics" of the S. L. P., and the censure was ordered published in the *Volkszeitung*. The editor practically admitted that, had he been at his post, the break would not have occurred, but for all that he opposed the censure, fully upheld his assistant who had written the article in question, and utterly refused to publish the censure, threatening to resign rather than submit, all of which indicated that he fully sympathized with the attack on the Party's policy, and imagined the conspiracy had sufficiently ripened to uphold him and derail the Party. Some of the embryo Kangs in the Board then got weak in the knees and ultimately flopped over to the other side when the contest was carried into the Publishing Association.

There a battle royal, a running fight took place that extended over a period of several months. We were never under any illusions as to the outcome, for we fully understood the riff-raff character of the Association's make-up. In some respects that Association had, in the course of time, become a sort of ash-barrel of the movement, harboring the expellees of the Party. Under its rules, one had to be a member of the S. L. P. to be admitted, but there was no way of getting rid of him if afterwards he dropped the Party or the Party dropped him. In the main it was a motley crew; small traders and manufacturers with fully developed bourgeois instincts; professionals more or less filled with middle class notions as to how the Socialist movement should be conducted; pure and simplers with a Socialist varnish; incipient labor fakirs in various stages of incubation; anarchists and other freaks, some of them real curiosities; men who had been "Socialists" for the last one hundred years or thereabouts, and had grown tired; *Volkszeitung's* "journalists," a separate and distinct type; all these, with a liberal sprinkling of just plain, ordinary fools and some old women in trousers. Ordinarily, the bulk of them never went near a meeting, but aroused by the howl raised all around, they did come to get a whack at the S. L. P., about which few of them knew much, but which all of them hated most cordially, to the everlasting credit of the S. L. P. be it said. In point of members, had they all come, they would have outnumbered us three to one, and enough did come to make the division of the house about two to one. It was a memorable fight, a bitter fight, with lines sharply drawn and issues clearly defined. It

was the Party with its fresh, pulsating life, with its future before it, pitted against moss-grown, incrustated reaction with its future behind it. Finally, the vote was taken and resulted, as was to be expected, in a repudiation of the Board's censure. That was the beginning of the end. The forces on either side began to align themselves for the desperate struggle that was to come and was inevitable. We had come to the parting of the roads.

At that meeting the loyal members of the Board of Directors resigned, the vacancies thus created were filled, and the Association had at last a head truly representative of its body.

THE FINAL CONFLICT DRAWS NEAR.

The membership of the Party was promptly informed of the state of affairs through *The People* in an article headed "Sign-Posts." The *Volkszeitung* had all along been in this position: as a publication in a foreign language it had to reckon with a constantly narrowing field. Whenever one of its readers took his last ride, in a hearse, to be cremated or interred, it meant an irreparable loss to its circulation. There was no way of making it up. The very children of the "Genossen," growing up in an English-speaking country, had a commendable habit of drifting away from the paper. Between them and their parents there was often no point of contact; they viewed life from an entirely different angle of vision and had, as a rule, little sympathy with what they were apt to consider the "peculiar views" of the old folks, the more so since these views were often presented with an air of prejudice against everything American. It was a standing complaint among those particular old German comrades that their children would have none of Socialism—small wonder. The *Volkszeitung* itself, when writing about America and American conditions, always did so in a strain as though the writer sat in some German village and discussed owlishly upon the interior of Africa, or some other outlandish territory.

Thus the paper had to lean for its support upon two factors that were bound, in the course of time, to become antagonistic. One, the degenerated, crusty trade union we have before described, coupled with a host of all sorts of purely social organizations, sick societies, etc., all of them animated by the same spirit; the other, the Party which was becoming ever more and more an American Party, and which felt at home and acted accordingly. The paper needed both. It could not afford to lose one or the other; and being confronted with the predicament of seeing the S. L. P. turn against it, it had to, if need be, set up a fake S. L. P. in imitation of the real article and then trust to luck. Driven by this necessity, violent efforts were made to get space in *The People* in some way to meet the incontrovertible array of facts in the "Sign-Posts" article, and thus weaken, if possible, the damaging effect of the exposure. The new Board appeared in a body before the N. E. C., demanding space for their side. They were told to put in writing what they had to say, and the N. E. C. would then consider the matter. A statement was presented at a special meeting held Sunday, April 16, 1899. It was a lengthy document, full of twisted facts, perversions of the truth, bald assumptions without the shadow of a foundation. To publish it without comment would have been tantamount to self-stulti-

fication; to publish it with comments would have necessitated an answer twice its own length to meet all its reckless statements. Stahl moved to publish and Matchett seconded the motion. The latter did so, according to his own statement, to bring the motion before the house. An exhaustive debate followed, lasting for hours, during which point after point of the Association's defence was taken up and torn to pieces, with documentary proof. When finally the vote was taken, on the motion of Stahl, he alone voted in favor, while Brown, Sanial, Murphy Keep, Kinneally and Matchett went on record against.

In order to still better acquaint the membership of the Party with the critical state of affairs and prepare them for any emergency which might now happen at any time, it was then and there decided to issue a "Statement on the Situation in New York," and Sanial, Keep and Matchett were elected a sub-committee to make a draft. This committee made a unanimous report on April 23; the report was adopted with the votes of all against the vote of Stahl, and ordered published in the May Day issue of *The People*, together with an "Appendix" setting forth how the *Volkszeitung*, for years past, had in an underhanded way, worked against the Party.

THE INCEPTION OF THE PLOT.

So as to properly connect a number of other events somewhat on other lines, yet closely connected with what has been said thus far, we shall have to go back a few months to the beginning of the year when nominations were made for National Secretary and for members of the National Executive Committee. On former occasions the opposition had made some perfunctory effort to elect its representatives on the N. E. C., but the lines not having as yet been drawn sharply enough, these efforts were not pushed. In the beginning of 1899, however, the situation had sufficiently developed. Lines had been drawn; the opposition had a set of leaders, such as they were; they knew this was the last chance, but one, to capture the N. E. C. before the next National Convention would meet and squelch them, and they set out to make the effort of their lives. The result was another defeat, their slate was smashed, and only one of their candidates, Stahl, succeeded in just slipping in with the smallest vote of any (329 votes), as against 683, the highest, cast for Comrade Sanial. But a better test for the relative strength of the opposing forces was perhaps the vote for National Secretary, for which Henry Kuhn polled 578 votes, while his opponent, the Kangaroo candidate, F. E. Kirchner, received 234 votes.

We shall leave undecided whether the opposition were childish enough to imagine that the capture of the N. E. C. meant the capture of the Party, or whether they were already wicked enough to perceive that their chances of throwing the Party into confusion by a *coup d'état*, such as they tried later on July 10, would be materially improved if they had possession of the N. E. C. and of the office of the National Secretary. At any rate, some of their more incautious followers, in sure expectation of victory, were at that time heard to declare that the election of "their" N. E. C. would settle the Party's Alliance policy. It is a curious fact, worthy of note in connection herewith, that this local minority, which had set itself the task of nullifying or overthrowing the Party policy established in National Convention, and by general

vote, never tired of denouncing the men who, in obedience to the Party's will, endeavored to carry out its mandates. For doing the very thing they had been elected for, they were treated to a great deal of what a regulation Kangaroo would call Billingsgate. "Czar," "Pope," "Boss," "Tyrant," "Rule or Ruin Men," etc., ad libitum and ad infinitum, were among the cleanest of the appellations bestowed upon the N. E. C., the editors of the Party organs, in fact upon all who stood by the Party.

THE TAXATION CONTROVERSY.

The *Volkszeitung*, partly for the purpose of raising dust and diverting attention from the real issue, and partly also for the purpose of weakening the influence of the Party organs by demonstrating that they were "unsound on economics," now went off on another tack. It started a controversy on the subject of taxation, contending in substance and in true middle class style, that the working class in its capacity as a consumer of merchandise pays out of its wages a large portion of the taxes, so large a portion, indeed, as to be weighted down by its burden; and that, therefore, the question of taxation was a question of vital importance to the working class. The Democratic Party, when prating about how the man with the dinner pail is robbed by taxation, never said more than that, but the Democratic Party never forged its figures with such shamelessness and utter abandon as did the *Volkszeitung* in trying to buttress its contention. Having in this wise manufactured its own premises, it boldly drew conclusions therefrom, and produced figures showing that the burden of taxation resting upon the working class amounts to \$20 each for every man, woman and child, so that a workingman with a wife and three children would, on an average, have to pay \$100, nearly one-third of his average income, for taxes only—all in direct opposition to the Party's official declarations on this subject, and in opposition to recent articles in *The People*, written to refute the false Democratic taxation howls. The *Volkszeitung's* position was preposterous, and the paper, consciously or unconsciously, selected the right man to defend it—a man named Feigenbaum, a semi-lunatic, a freak with more kinks in his head than the average well-balanced man could ever begin to think of, and more mental dishonesty in his make-up than could be traced with a thousand X-rays. This man Feigenbaum, who, during this taxation debate was very aptly and fitly likened by a New York comrade to a monkey in convulsions, was given unlimited space by the *Volkszeitung* to take up the cudgels for and defend the indefensible. He promptly went off on a spree, a veritable debauch, in quotation marks, misquoting and half-quoting, whenever he did quote, and for all we know he may be quoting yet. May the fates have mercy on us, and save us from another such infliction, and may those who come after us never have their patience "taxed" with a like experience.

THE PLOT THICKENS.

We must now return to the time the "Statement on the Situation in New York" was issued in the May Day *People*. The *Volkszeitung* corporation was growing desperate. Threats were made that they would present their side despite the decision of the N. E. C.; that the Party organs were theirs, and that they would use them as they saw fit, etc.

Suddenly there appeared what was called the Monthly English Edition of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and which afterwards was called "The Taxpayer," for short. It was gotten up in pigeon English, contained the Statement of the Board of Directors, all the contortions and quotations of Mr Feigenbaum, and sundry other things scarcely worth mention. As a contribution to literature, along the lines of involuntary humor, it was an unparalleled success, and was accordingly hugely enjoyed all over the country. Nothing would have been done in the matter by the N. E. C. had it not been for the fact that the mailing list of *The People*, the result of the unceasing labor of the Party the country over, had been used to send out this abortion. Complaints began to pour in from the country, accompanied with wrappers showing the date of subscription to *The People* in which the corporation's sheet had arrived. Notice had to be taken, and a letter was addressed to the corporation's Board of Directors, demanding an explanation. Right upon the heels of this, and before an answer could have been received, the corporation went one step further. With the English sheet they had at least chosen a different title, and had in no way made it appear that it was a part of *The People*. But they now issued a so-called supplement to the *Vorwaerts*, the Party's German organ, without the knowledge of the editor, and made it appear as an integral part of the German Party organ. Needless to say that this "supplement" contained the same Democratic refuse matter as the English sheet did, including Mr. Feigenbaum's quotations.

This flagrant breach of faith and of the contract made between the Party and the Publishing Association, was the last straw that broke the camel's back; and when the Board of the Corporation, in answer to the letter of inquiry sent to them, admitted, in an insolent communication, that they had authorized and ordered the use of the People's mailing list and the insertion of the "supplement" to the *Vorwaerts*, declaring that they would do so again as often as occasion required, the National Executive Committee decided to submit the issue to the Party membership. The question: "Shall the Party sever all connections between it and the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association; continue, through its National Executive Committee, the publication of its organs, *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, and demand from the said Association the unconditional surrender of all property belonging to said organs, including their respective mailing lists and the amount of subscriptions paid in advance?" was ordered to be submitted to a general vote on May 31, and the vote made returnable on August 1.

The *Volkszeitung* was now in the position of a rat at bay, having been driven from pillar to post. Section New York, through its General Committee, had passed a vote of condemnation against the paper for having falsified the reports of the committee; and Section New York was getting ready, not only to repudiate the sheet as its official organ, but to also look into the conduct of such of its members as belonged to the Publishing Association and had there betrayed the Party's interests. The situation was getting to be a rather critical one.

A slight diversion now becomes necessary again to connect some links in this historical chain of events. At the meeting of the N. E. C. held on June 6, Charles H. Matchett, the quondam candidate for President,

resigned as a member of the Committee on the ground that he was to leave the city. A call for nominations was issued, and the two opposing forces began to prepare for the tug-of-war. The fight had grown hot, and both sides realized that this was no time to indulge in complimentary votes. Accordingly, when the nominations made were about to be presented for a vote, two candidates, representing the two sides, were there to be voted for: Peter Fiebliger for the Party; Morris Hilquit against it.

A few words of explanation of this man Hilquit will serve a general purpose. He turned up in the movement during the eighties, was then a very young man, displayed some activity in the Jewish Party and trade union movement, and his name at that time was Moses Hilkwitz. Later on he became a lawyer and went through the customary course of graduation pursued by people of his sort, who grew out of the Jewish trade union movement; that is to say, he made out worthless contracts for the Jewish unions in the settlement of their numberless strikes against the sweat-shop contractor bosses. The *modus operandi* in the contract business is that such a contract is made between the union and the contractor, the latter paying the fee to the lawyer, ranging from one dollar to three, and the lawyer to divide the swag with the union, or, perchance, only with the union leaders.

It is said to have been a lucrative business, because there were many strikes, and there were more contractors. When the then Mr. Hilkwitz had got sufficiently ahead in the world by such means, he vanished, and neither the East Side nor the Socialist Labor Party saw or heard of him for many a day. But he came back in time, metamorphosed into Morris Hilquit, Esq., attorney at law, with an office on Broadway.

No sooner had the now Mr. Hilquit come back into the Party, when he at once developed into the recognized leader, the spokesman, the paladin of the opposition. At the General Committee, in the Publishing Association, and wherever else he had a chance, he shied a lance for the cause of "freedom and against bossism." There wasn't any love lost between the stalwarts and Mr. Hilquit, and while they did not know him as well then as they learned to know him since, they sized him up correctly on the whole and handled him accordingly.

When this Mr. Hilquit became a candidate for the N. E. C., it began to be rumored around on the East Side that in 1894, while a member of the Party, he had voted for Goff, a capitalist candidate for judge. Finally a comrade (J. Wilenkin), came to the National Secretary with the statement that Hilquit had in his presence, on the night of election of 1894, admitted that he had that day cast his vote for Goff, giving for a reason that "Goff was a good man and that his election would benefit the workingman." He (Wilenkin) had said nothing and had not preferred charges because Hilquit was not at all active in the Party, and he had no desire to stir up trouble; but Hilquit having again become active, this time within the Party against the Party, he thought it his duty to report the matter, the more so since Hilquit had the hardihood to reach out for the National Executive Committee. Wilenkin was told to put what he had to say in writing and send it to the N. E. C. He did so, and the Committee instructed the National Secretary to address a communication to Hilquit, asking him what he had to

say to the charge. The answer was, of course, a blank denial of the charge. So much for Mr. Hilquit for the present.

THE CRISIS AT HAND.

The vote on the question of severing all connections with the *Volkszeitung* now began to pour in from all over the country. The returns were made known as fast as they came in, and it became evident that the proposition would be adopted with an overwhelmingly majority. And now began some tall wirepulling in all directions, principally between New York, Cleveland and Philadelphia. Cleveland had the National Board of Appeals, a body that was thought, and in point of fact was, most susceptible to *Volkszeitung* influences, and Alexander Jonas, a member of the *Volkszeitung's* staff, was dispatched thither on a secret mission to get things in shape. That this Board of Appeals was anything but a Socialist body, and that the selection of Cleveland as the seat of this institution had proved a grievous mistake, was well known to the Party management. Max Hayes, its former secretary, had resigned his position because he had been offered the position of editor of the *Social Democrat*, the official organ of the Social Democracy, otherwise known as the Debs Colonization Party. He was on the point of going to Chicago to take charge of the paper, "to work for the S. L. P.," of course, when it was made clear to him that there was not much stability in either the Colonization Party or its organ, and that he had better cling closely to the much safer job on the *Cleveland Citizen*, in other words, that the bird in hand was worth two in the bush. He reconsidered.

The calibre of the section, as then composed, may be judged by the fact that not only was he permitted to remain a member, but he continued to be a "leader." Hayes' successor was Robert Bandlow, and he succeeded him well. The decisions rendered by that Board had become more and more curious. With a dishonesty that is characteristic of such folk, they all seemed to have a point in them directed in some way against the N. E. C., the Party organs or its editors, or against the Party policy, notwithstanding none of them was on trial or had an opportunity to defend himself. The Board was watched closely from this end of the line with both distrust and disgust. Yet it never entered our minds that these gentlemen would have the impudence to usurp powers not at all belonging to them, and that ultimately they would try to set themselves above the N. E. C., and even presume to legislate it out of existence.

The first attempt in this direction was made when H. Stahl appealed to them to prevent the N. E. C. from submitting the question of his removal from the N. E. C. as moved by Section Pittsburg, to a general vote. The Board actually had the presumption to take up this case, and demanded that the N. E. C. state its side. This the N. E. C. did by a public statement, the essence of which was that "the Board had no right to entertain an appeal from a call for general vote or to ask the N. E. C. for any of its reasons for submitting such a call, as no committee of the Party can be permitted to stand between the Party and its National Executive Committee."

The Board tried in other ways to aid in the conspiracy against the Party, one of its decisions having for its purpose to prevent Section

New York from ridding itself of a singing society as a branch of the section, although the rights of the individual members were not at all affected because they continued to hold membership in their respective Assembly Districts.

It was now near July 1, and new delegates to the General Committee were being elected by the sub-divisions of the section. The opposition was working with might and main to secure as many of these as possible; secret caucuses were held and their adherents drilled to go to the meeting and vote solidly. The men they united on were chosen with an eye to their physical qualifications; in short, they got ready for battle. The vote on severing connection with the *Volkzeitung* came in thick and fast and nearly solid in favor of the proposition submitted. Repudiation by the National Party Organization stared them in the face; the vote closing on August 1, gave them but one short month more. Evidently, this was the time for heroic measures, for action along to-do-or-to-die lines. On July 8 the new delegates were to be seated. On that day there appeared in the *Volkzeitung* a call to the delegates elected on that side to be on hand early, and to make sure to be in the hall at 8 p. m. They were on hand, to be sure; and as transpired subsequently, were prepared in divers other ways. The plan was to capture the General Committee, elect all the officers of the section, and then turn their kind attention to the N. E. C., to the editors of the Party organs and the State Committee. It was a very nice plan with many pleasant features, but as has been said of the best laid plans of men and mice, it did not work exactly as it had been planned. They probably forgot to consider what the other side might do.

That other side during all this time had not been half as active. They felt somewhat secure in being the unquestionable majority in any event, and many of the secret and desperate moves of the opposition were not known then. The subsequent explanation of the Kangaroos, when forced to state in their papers why they had resorted to such utterly unconstitutional action, though they claimed to be the majority, was that they expected the N. E. C. would suddenly suspend and reorganize Section New York, and thus force them out of the Party. But this explanation is all moonshine and they know it. Fact is, that there was a safe majority of the section's membership on the right side of the question, as every general vote had proven, and temporary success that the opposition might have secured through secret organization in caucus, would only tend to arouse the loyal majority for its overthrow. The Kangaroos knew this and, knowing it, they fully understood that the only thing left for them was a *coup d'état*. Majorities are not in the habit of organizing *coups*; they don't have to.

When the meeting of the General Committee on July 8 was called to order and proceeded to elect a chairman, delegates Kuhn (nominated by the Party supporters), and Bock (nominated by the reactionists), were set up. The vote was taken by a show of hands. Kuhn being voted on first, only such as were already delegates voted; but when the vote on Bock was called for, all the Kangaroo delegates in the hall voted whether they had been seated or not. The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Comrade Hugo Vogt, having in hand the credentials, not yet passed upon, of a number of men whom he saw par-

ticipate in the vote, rose to object. Then the storm broke loose. All the Kangaroos were on their feet, a howling mass, trying to drown the objector's voice, but he persisted. The organizer, unable to restore order by the sound of the gavel, appointed several deputy sergeant-at-arms, and one of these comrades, Arthur Keep, approached Mr Hillquit, the leader of the chorus, with the intention of making him take his seat. Instantly a dozen or so fell upon him, and in less time than it takes to tell it, a most sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict was on, during which Messrs. Hillquit and Feigenbaum took to their heels. The hall suddenly filled with non-delegate Kangaroos who had evidently been kept in readiness; clubs had been stored up in a corner, but it was all of no use. The loyal delegates, though greatly outnumbered, fought the disturbers to a standstill, and the plan to capture the meeting by any and all means fell through. The meeting broke up. Then came the

MIDNIGHT RAID OF JULY 10.

On Sunday, July 9, the Kangaroos conferred; on Monday morning, July 10, there appeared in the *Volksszeitung* a front-page call for a "special meeting of the General Committee," to be held in a hall on the Bowery, signed by a number of Kangaroo delegates. Needless to say that this call was wholly unauthorized, neither the organizer of the section, nor the City Executive Committee having signed it or having been at all informed about it. A one day's notice in a German publication was, moreover, entirely lost upon the English-speaking delegates, very few of whom knew anything at all about the alleged General Committee meeting. That meeting was attended by some 47 men, several of whom were not even delegates, nor yet members of Section New York. This mob arrogated to itself powers which the real General Committee of 115 delegates never had. It proceeded to "depose" the N. E. C., the National Secretary, the editors, the State Committee, the City Executive Committee, the organizer; in short, everything in sight. Never was a farce more complete.

It may be here inserted that, when it became evident that the Party would vote to sever connections with the Publishing Association, the Association had met and voted, in order to meet and if possible weaken the inevitable repudiation, to itself rescind the contracts between it and the Party relative to the publication of the Party organs. It had left all details to its Board of Directors, and that body thereupon informed the N. E. C. that July 15 had been set by them as the date when the contracts were to terminate, just two weeks prior to the close of the general vote. Committees of the two bodies met to arrange the details, and at the first conference held, the committee of the N. E. C. took the stand that the contract made between the Party and the Publishing Association relative to the publication of *The People* had been adopted by a general vote of the Party, and that, therefore, the N. E. C. did not feel it had power to legally rescind and terminate said contract before it had ascertained the opinion of its constituents. A general vote was now on and would close on August 1. That the Publishing Association, with its membership located in New York and vicinity, could easily assemble and ascertain how its members stood, but it was taking an unfair advantage of the Party to expect of it so speedy

a decision with its membership distributed all over the country. In this view the committee of the Board seemingly acquiesced and withdrew. Presently, however, a communication was received to the effect that the Board had declined to extend the time and that the contracts must terminate on July 15. A meeting of the two committees was set for the night of July 10, the very night that the bogus General Committee met on the Bowery. The committee of the N. E. C. was on hand; that of the Board was not. They were busy at the Bowery meeting seeking how to destroy that hated S. L. P. and escape the Party's repudiation.

In the meantime, and as soon as the call for the snap meeting on the Bowery had appeared in the *Volkzeitung*, active preparations were made by the Party officers to meet whatever deviltry the other side might be up to. We knew we were located in the enemy's house, and those who had gone through the trouble of 1889, having to deal now with practically the same element, knew also what the followers of the *Volkzeitung* were capable of. A hurry call was sent out, and about twenty-five comrades assembled in obedience to the call, ready to defend the Party's property, come what may. In so far as it could be done, the men were well picked. All valuable papers and documents that money would not replace, were taken out of the building before night-fall, and what was left, had it fallen into the hands of the Kangaroos, could have been replaced. Scouts were sent to the Bowery meeting, the neighborhood was picketed, and all was ready for a warm reception should that become necessary. The reports brought from the Bowery meeting at intervals showed the progressive stages of the deposing farce. Thus, being fully informed, we waited.

We waited until somewhat before midnight, when the advance guard of the Kangaroos arrived at 184 William street. More came later. Mr. Slobodin, a "lawyer" of the East Side, who had just been elected National Secretary of the Kangaroos, was sent upstairs to parley. He was met by the pickets at the head of the stairs, and told that he could not come in. He then wanted to deliver a letter to "Comrade Kuhn," and was informed that nothing would be taken from him. He retired. They cast up the situation, and, not knowing how many were there to oppose them, wisely concluded to send for re-enforcements. Accordingly, a call was sent to the Labor Lyceum, and the German Bricklayers' Union, a body of pure and simplers if ever there was one, run by William Klein, a Tammany job holder, came down in a body under the leadership of Philip Bauer, also a non-Party member, together with a swarm of Kangaroos, anxious to lend a helping hand. They were armed in the *Volkzeitung* office, on the ground floor, with sundry weapons, mallets, clubs, iron implements, and what not. A portion of them was detached to the composing room of the *Volkzeitung*, on the top floor, above the Party's premises, to make the position on the staircase untenable, as it could be rushed from above and below. All was ready, and then came the

CHARGE OF THE KANGAROOS.

It is not necessary to dwell here upon the incidents of the bloody fight that followed. Our men had manned the door and held it against the several rushes of the invaders, who numbered about seventy, but

who could not, any more than could we, deploy their forces. After a quarter of an hour or so (we did not time the battle by the watch), the uproar having stirred up the whole neighborhood, the police came and the fight ended. We held the fort, removed next day all the belongings of the Party to quarters already hired at 61 Beekman street, but, in defiance of the *Volkszeitung* crowd, held the last meeting of the N. E. C., on the night of July 11, right on the field of battle.

The Labor Lyceum, on Fourth street, which, by reason of its very character had always been a nest of Kangarooism, was taken possession of by the Kangs. For the sake of principle, a perfunctory attempt was made to regain possession, but, when it was found that this could only be done by court procedure, the matter was dropped. The institution had for years been an elephant on our hands, had constantly run astern; our membership, as now composed, was not such as would support a place of that sort, and there was a heavy mortgage on it. Hence no further efforts in that direction were made. The Kangaroos were welcome to it. What now follows is rather recent history, but a report like this will be referred to in later years, and should, therefore, be brought up to date.

The Kangaroos had now burned the bridges behind them, and had come out in open rebellion against the Party. They could now be dealt with without further compunction, and they were. At the meeting of July 11 the N. E. C. decided to call upon Section New York to at once suspend all branches that had participated in the conspiracy to take possession of Party offices by force. The membership was now thoroughly aroused, and on July 15 a special meeting of the General Committee, duly called, was held to take action on the recent occurrences. It was a memorable meeting, full of fire and enthusiasm, and its action was decisive and incisive. The axe was ruthlessly applied and all rotten branches were lopped off. That meeting also decided upon a monster demonstration at Cooper Union on the following July 24, to set matters clear and to meet the lying reports of the capitalist press, which press, with correct instinct, had at once taken the side of the Kangs, and had divided the contending forces into "good" Socialists and "bad" Socialists, the "good" being the Kangaroos, of course.

That Cooper Union demonstration *was* a demonstration. It gave proof that the Party in New York was sound to the core, and able to meet and vanquish its foes. So marked was the success of this meeting, that the Kangaroos felt impelled to produce a sickly imitation of it.

The enemy was now wearing an S. L. P. garb, the lion's skin, so to speak, and they were trying to act like the S. L. P. as well as they knew how, but like the donkey in the fable, the long ears of the donkey stuck out all over, and the bray of the ass no one could mistake for the roar of the lion. But there were weak spots in a number of places in the country, spots honeycombed with pure and simpledom, with middle class interests—with treason. With these the *Volkszeitung* was, and had been for some time in touch, and made all arrangements to have them fall in line when the signal was given. It was a trying time and a trying situation, and it required men, judicious and

firm, to deal with it. Injudiciousness would have been harmful, and would have created more confusion—weakness would have been fatal. For nearly a week the *Volkszeitung* had the advantage, because it had the start. It had robbed the Party of its German organ, the *Vorwaerts*. *The People* we saved, and managed to get out on time, but the *Volkszeitung* made lying representations to the Postoffice authorities, and our paper was refused admittance to the mails as second class matter. This delayed us for several days, and a hastily drawn circular had to be issued to the sections, informing them, in brief, of what had happened. We then secured passage through the mails, but had to deposit one cent per copy security should the second class permit not be granted, and such deposits had to be made for several issues. The deposits have since been returned. In this way the *Volkszeitung's* deposition yarn reached the Party first, and it no doubt created consternation in many places, but for all that the Party stood firm as a rock, fully able to deal with what treasonable elements had wormed themselves into its ranks. The work of agitation conducted since the '96 convention and the work of *The People* had not been in vain.

Despite all these difficulties, or rather because of them, *The People* forged ahead. We say because of them, for the reason that never before had there been such intense activity almost everywhere. The membership had been rudely shaken out of whatever rut they might have moved in; they were fully aroused; were up on deck and were working like Trojans. Many short time subscriptions were raised, and the circulation rose week after week until between 17,000 and 18,000 copies were printed. When things calmed down a little, and when the short time subscriptions had expired, there was naturally some falling off, the circulation coming down to its normal level, between 13,000 and 14,000; the bulk of the subscribers gained before July 10 were saved and many new ones received.

The Kangaroos, after July 10, sprung their various mines. Those in the various States we shall take up later, under the head of "Party Organization," but one of them might as well be treated right here. It is the "Board of Appeals Mine." How that body was composed, who were its leading spirits, and what was the spirit by which it was animated, and in which it did its work, has already been indicated, but now came its chance to crown its infamous career by a fitting climax. The Kangaroo Committee appealed to the Board for recognition; moved by this appeal from a side that was blood of its blood and flesh of its flesh, the Board promptly recognized it. Much has since been said about so changing the constitution in regard to the functions of the Board as to make the repetition of such an act impossible, but let it also be said that, whatever changes may be deemed desirable, the constitution was not at fault, for there was no warrant in it for such assumption of power on the part of the Board. It was simply a piece of sheer brazen impudence, nothing more and nothing less, and in view of the fact that that Board was part and parcel of the *Volkszeitung's* conspiracy, this piece of impudent effrontery would have been committed no matter what the constitution might or might not contain. One of the members of that Board, Mr. Karl Ibsen, has since been rewarded by the *Volkszeitung*; he has become a member of its staff, a position

after which he had hankered a long time, and for which he is eminently fitted.

The sections of Cleveland, much under the sway of that element, were "boarded" by these pirates; and, for the time being, Party interests had to walk the plank. An attempt was also made to capture the Ohio State Committee, also located in Cleveland, but there the conspirators met their doom. The State Committee refused on the ground that it was the representative of all the sections in the State, not of Cleveland alone, and that it would refer the question of who was to be recognized to a general vote. Under ordinary conditions this step would have been a mistake, because there ought not to have been any question as to who was to be recognized, the only question before the Party being how to smash the conspiracy that sought to destroy it, but it must be borne in mind that the Ohio State Committee found itself in a very difficult position. The very section that had elected it had swung against it. At a snap meeting it is true, but nevertheless it had been swung that way. Well, that vote was taken in Ohio, and it settled the Kangaroos. The very city of Cleveland cast a small majority against them and then there was a clean separation in that town. The chaff was winnowed from the wheat, and ever since there has been a section in Cleveland that is worth having.

Every effort was now made by the conspirators to break up the Party. Their emissaries were sent hither and thither. Barnes in Pennsylvania, Silverman in New York, Bandlow in Ohio, did their best to create confusion and swing the sections over into the Kangaroo camp. Later, Mr. Thomas J. Morgan, attorney, was secured for a trip, and brought on from Chicago, but somehow or other the cause did not seem to thrive and the gentlemen who thus went about on their unsavory mission had anything but a dull time of it as they ran up against the S. L. P. buzz-saw here, there and everywhere. Lesser lights were also used. To meet this pernicious agitation, we sent Comrade Keep to Pennsylvania chiefly to look after Philadelphia, and withdrew Comrade Keinard from New England, which was able to take care of itself, and sent him to Ohio. The New York State Committee sent out Comrade Katz. The Kangaroos also greatly aided us by arranging a good long tour through the New England States with Mr. Feigenbaum as the speaker. We could not have accomplished with two of our best men what Feigenbaum did all alone and single handed, namely, to demonstrate what sort of material New York Kangarooism was made up of, and to warn everybody not to take any stock in a party the management of which was so imbecile as to send out such a specimen at such a time. Whomsoever he would attract was a blessing to be rid of. Mr. Feigenbaum, by the way, did not return very much in the style of a conquering hero, but was said to have looked rather crestfallen, which, with a man of his adamant self-assurance, means a good deal, and, if our memory serves us right, his tour was somewhat shortened. In justice to Mr. Feigenbaum it must, however, be added that the looks of Messrs. Morgan, Barnes and Silverman and of their "agitation tours," did not differ materially from Mr. Feigenbaum's. Everywhere the Party membership was solid.

As has been stated before, the pretenders tried hard to imitate the

S. L. P. as best they could, but they failed in several important details. The Alliance policy they naturally repudiated, locally, without the formality of a general vote, and they explained this by saying that it had been "foisted" upon the Party at the '96 convention, and that the membership did not want it, which was true, since by this time they spoke of, and applied this to "their" membership, whatever it was. In keeping with this, they also failed to call for nominations for delegates to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A., although the Party constitution, to which they pretended to cling with frantic devotion, distinctly orders the N. E. C. to do this. The *Volkszeitung* Association had voted to rescind the contracts in regard to the publication of the Party organs, but never a word was said about that. But the *Volkszeitung's* party failed in another important matter to live up to its pretensions, in that it utterly disregarded the general vote, ordering the severance of connections with the same *Volkszeitung*. So it will be seen that it was pretty difficult for them, in more ways than one, to play the role of the S. L. P., and play it successfully.

THE EMBLEM CONTEST.

The time of the election was now drawing near, and with it came the last chance of the Kangaroos to possess themselves of the Party. If they could not get its membership, they could, perhaps, get its name and its place on the official ballot and its emblem. They got neither. When the time for filing nominations came, they filed in Albany with the Secretary of State, two nominations for up-State Supreme Court Districts and, later on, they filed in the City of New York, with the Board of Police Commissioners, a set of nominations to be voted on in Greater New York, in both places under the name of the Socialist Labor Party. The contest was on. The New York State Committee of the Party at once secured the services of an able lawyer, Mr. Benjamin Patterson, who had, by the way, been engaged before this in other litigations into which the *Volkszeitung* drew the Party. The contest was marked by a succession of defeats for the Kangaroos. They failed before the Secretary of State; they failed before the Police Commissioners; they failed before the Supreme Court and, when after election, they carried an appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, they failed there also. The powers that be, whatever their love and approval for conspiracies that aim to break up the S. L. P., evidently could not afford to lend a helping hand to the *Volkszeitung*, despite its Tammany Hall proclivities. The Kangaroo mode of procedure had been too irregular, too Kangarooish, and to decide in their favor would establish precedents that might, at any future time, be used with deadly effect by revolting factions within the old parties. It simply could not be done.

"SOCIALISTS DON'T VOTE."

Then came the campaign of 1899, which set the Kangaroo conspiracy in its proper light as an attempt to smash the S. L. P. by breaking down its voting strength. By means of circulars, hand-bills, leaflets, meetings, etc., the workmen were exhorted not to vote the S. L. P. ticket, not this year at least, but next, when, so it was said, the Kangaroos were to be in the field again. Particularly in the Sixteenth Assembly District, where the S. L. P. candidate, Comrade De Leon, was thought to

have a chance of election over the candidate of Tammany Hall, Mr. Samuel Prince, did they concentrate their efforts. Aside from the anti-voting literature distributed elsewhere, they had, in addition, a special card, which read as follows:

DON'T VOTE FOR FRAUDS!

The Socialist Labor Party has no ticket in the field this year. Candidates under the hammer emblem are not Socialists. That emblem was stolen from the regular Party.

Dont vote for De Leon. He is an enemy of labor, a wrecker of labor organizations, an adventurer, who has done more mischief in workers' ranks than any other fiend (sic) of organized labor.

HIS RECORD.

1884, a paid spellbinder for the Democratic Party.

1886, a Single Taxer.

1888, a Nationalist.

1889, a Socialist. (?)

1899: a nominee through the favor of a Tammany Police Board aided by Republicans

WHAT NEXT?

A foreigner himself, he hates and denounces every foreign-born citizen.

No Socialist, no honest workingman, can vote for this man.

Remember, the Socialist Labor Party has no ticket in the field this year

Sixteenth Assembly District, S. L. P.

On the very eve of election they trundled a wagon around the district, plastered with anti-voting signs and mottoes, all directed against the candidate of the S. L. P. Tammany Hall never had such active allies as it found in this campaign. The bogus publication which the *Volkszeitung* issues in imitation of the Party's organ, *The People*, appeared a week before the election in two editions, one for the city, with an anti-voting pronouncement, the other for circulation in the country with the pronouncement left out. The *Volkszeitung* also did what it could to help the scheme along, with editorial articles, garbled news, communications, and the like.

And the result? When the votes were counted it was found that in two boroughs out of five, Richmond and Brooklyn, we had gained; in two others, Manhattan and Bronx, we had lost a little; in the fifth, Queens, the paradise of the workingmen who work in the city and live in the country in order to own a small house and pay taxes, we had lost most, relatively, but all in all the vote was not 1,000 less, and that in an election which evoked no general interest. We had gained considerable in some English-speaking districts and lost in some German districts, but that did not go far enough to explain the insignificant result of the Kangaroo agitation. It became clear to us then that the bulk of the *Volkszeitung's* following, the membership of the sick societies, singing societies, trade unions, cremation societies, etc., etc., had never voted the ticket, albeit they constantly posed as Socialists, and eagerly repeated the Kangaroo declaration that the S. L. P. must be "reformed." Not all of them went fishing on election day; the conclusion is inevitable that these simply voted the old party tickets, once a year.

In those days the *Volkszeitung* was very funny reading. It had to explain to its gasping dupes the howness of the why, and locate, somehow, the voting strength of the Kangaroos, a task as impossible as the

finding of a square circle. The contortions and convolutions the sheet went through were a sight to behold, and during one of them it delivered itself of something like the following: The chances for a large growth of the S. L. P. vote had been excellent, many English-speaking workingmen had been attracted to it and, had it not been for the mismanagement of the Party and its destructive tactics, which caused the *Volkszeitung* to break away, the vote would have risen to at least 25,000, instead of the measly 14,000 and some odd. The difference between what we thus would have got but didn't get, and what we had, represented the strength of the *Volkszeitung*. This was a very pretty example in arithmetic, and it put one in mind of the Hon. F. G. R. X. Y. W. Z. Gordon, formerly of New Hampshire, who used to do his figuring along similar lines; but it did not help the *Volkszeitung* and its party one little bit. Taking their figures and their arguments for granted, we could not help but conclude that a political party that could stand the loss of 10 000 of its voters and make up that loss in a few months, was a rather healthy institution and that its tactics could not be as wrongful and destructive as the *Volkszeitung* had all along tried to make them appear.

KANGAROOS LOOKING FOR SHELTER.

The conspirators had now played their last card, and the game was up. The pretense that they were the S. L. P. could no longer be maintained, as it simply rendered them more ridiculous than they naturally were. "Boring from within," so warmly recommended by the *Volkszeitung*, had its drawbacks, and wasn't any where near what it was cracked up to be. The Kangs had bored from within, and, for their pains, they now found themselves very much without, not only without a party, but also without a name, save the one the S. L. P. had given them, and that they never properly appreciated. Unable to stand on their own feet and form a party of their own, their leaders, Mr. Hillquit & Company, cast about seeking whom they could take in.

THE DEBS DEMOCRACY AND THE KANGAROOS.

A few lines are necessary to first sketch this Debs Democracy which, like the Kangs themselves, has arisen above the political horizon since our last convention. Mr. Eugene V. Debs, the recognized founder and leader of this party, is the man who was at the head of the American Railway Union, which went under in the disastrous strike in Chicago in 1894. This strike had frightened the capitalist class considerably, and Mr. Debs and his union ran up against the political end of capitalism in the form of federal bayonets and court injunctions. He was later put in jail for contempt of court. While in jail he is said to have studied Socialism, but his conversion must not have been quite complete, for in 1896 we found him stumping for William J. Bryan and free silver. After 1896 he made up his mind that he had a mission to perform, and that mission was to lead the American people, by a short cut, into the haven of Socialism. To carry out this mission, a convention was called in Chicago in 1897, the American Railway Union, which did no longer exist, was formally dissolved, and, with the aid of a motley crew of reformers and freaks, the so-called Social Democracy was organized. It was a curious concern. The solution of the social problem was to be brought about by colonizing, first one State way out

West, and it was confidently expected that, after a shining example had been set by this one, the others would gladly fall in line. The economic laws of the capitalist system, which were apt to somewhat militate against that plan, did not bother the Social Democrats at all because they knew nothing about them. A fund was raised to buy the land for the colony, and when the next convention of the new party took place in 1898, again in Chicago, some \$4,000 had been collected and—expended in salaries for the Board of Directors of the colony that was to be. At this rate the price of real estate in the far West was not apt to be much influenced by the prospect of this colony; that much was plain to even the Social Democrats. But, since the formation of the new party, a number of expellees and deserters from the S. L. P. had found lodgement in it, and these knew just enough to realize that they must get rid of the colonization absurdity if their party was ever to be made a rival of the S. L. P. Accordingly there was in that convention a division between colonization and political action men. The latter were beaten; they bolted and formed a new party, the Social Democratic Party. Nobody heard of the Social Democracy since, but the Social Democratic Party lived.

It was upon this innocent infant party that Mr. Morris Hilquit cast his eagle eye and forthwith there began a campaign for "Socialist unity." The Kangaroos called a convention on January 31, 1900, in the City of Rochester, designated said convention as their "tenth," nominated a Presidential ticket, Harriman and Hayes, and proceeded to make overtures to the Debsites by adopting unity resolutions and the like. The National Committee of the Debsites, even at that time, seem to have been a little dubious about the desirability of the newly-won friends. While they were not averse to adding to their numbers, they were not quite certain, in case they "united" with the Kangaroos as a body and as a party, who was going to do the adding; as likely as not it might prove an addition of the Debsites to the Kangaroos. At any rate, they sent to the Kangaroo convention at Rochester a message of congratulation, the quintessence of which could be summed up in one word: SURRENDER.

At this the convention grew very wroth; there was talk about the necessity of freeing the S. D. P. of its dictators and bosses, but in view of the fact, obvious to even a Kangaroo, that one must first be "within" before he can begin to "bore" from there, caution prevailed, and a fire and brimstone answer, about to be adopted, was toned down so as not to give offence too soon. It was time enough to "reform" the S. D. P. once they were in it. A "Committee on Unity" was elected, Hilquit among them, which committee was to go to the Debs Convention at Indianapolis and there work that convention for the election of a like committee, both to arrange the details of the proposed fusion.

The Debs Convention met on March 6; the Kangaroos were there, and everything went on as per programme. Debs was nominated for President; Harriman, who had first place on the Kangaroo ticket, was given second place; and Hayes was simply dropped. A "Unity" Committee was elected, and all seemed perfectly happy until this joint committee, called "Committee on Uniting" by the Kangaroos, met some time later in New York to work out a fusion plan. Then, as a matter

of course, trouble started. It was smoothed over, and the Unity Committee succeeded in agreeing upon a plan that was to be submitted to a vote of the membership of both organizations, the vote of both to be lumped and then counted for and against. The committee dropped the Debs platform adopted at Indianapolis and substituted the one the Kangaroos had adopted at their "Tenth National Convention" at Rochester. The seat of the "united party's" National Committee was put in Springfield, Mass., and two names were to be voted upon, namely, "United Socialist Party" and "Social Democratic Party." Then there was more trouble, which, at this writing, has not been smoothed over and doesn't look as though it would. The Debsite National Committee at Chicago issued a warning proclamation to its membership, saying in substance, that the Kangaroos were trying to play a game of bunco on the unsuspecting Debslings; that Hilquit and Harri-man had, at Indianapolis, made solemn pledges to stand up for the retention of the name S. D. P., and had broken these pledges. Sundry other charges, all probably true, were made, a reiteration of which is superfluous. The real reason for all this was that, since the Kangs had secured practical control of the "Unity Committee," which was to receive the returns and count the vote, the Debsites, having more confidence in the adeptness of the Kangaroos to juggle with figures than in their honesty to count them, had perceived that they were about to be swallowed up, and they advised their membership to vote against the whole plan. This pronouncement acted like a bombshell. At first the Kangaroos began to boil over; they talked about "De Leonism" having developed in the Debsite National Committee; that it was the sacred duty of all Socialists to unite, "over the heads of self-seeking bosses" if need be, and there were even some hints to the effect that the God-ordained purifiers of American Socialist politics, the liberty-loving Kangaroos, having deposed one set of "bossy national officers," would do so again. But the cooler heads realized that this sort of language was premature and, to head off the disuniting effects of the Debsites' warning, the word was passed along the line: Vote for the name S. D. P.; drop the name U. S. P. The Kangaroos, whatever there is of them, fearing that the fish, about to be landed, was going to slip off the hook, took the cue readily enough, and voted accordingly.

To offset this move, Mr. Eugene V. Debs, who, for some reason, had not signed the original warning, now came out with a letter wherein he explained that he saw, in his mind's eye, the blanched faces of the working class yearning for unity between the Kangaroos and the Debsites; that he was for unity, but unity, to be at all worth having, must be of the right kind, and that the kind proposed by the "Committee on Unity" was not the real genuine article. He was against, and would have none of it. This was the unkindest cut of all, coming as it did, from Mr. Debs, whom the Kangs had already begun to laud to the skies as the chosen apostle of American Socialism, the "American Lassalle," under whose leadership they were to poll several millions of votes, more or less, next November. And since then a majority of the S. D. P. have voted against "union."

The leaders of the Kangaroos were now in a quandary and, at this writing, they are not out of it, either. Mr. Hilquit, this latter day

Moses, cannot possibly lead the Kangaroos around the desert of political nondescriptiveness as many years as the original Moses is said to have led the children of Israel. Only to see the promised land, yet not be permitted to enter it, has a disheartening effect. Time is pressing, the presidential campaign is drawing near, and Bryan, the great magnet for freakish political atoms, is looming up on the horizon. The Kangaroos needed badly a hole to crawl into, but whenever they got ready to crawl, the hole was pulled shut from within, and boring from without seems to have turned out as barren as did boring from within.

How they will unravel the knot they have tied themselves into, how they will rearrange their tickets, and which of the two will get the several millions of votes next November, we know not, but it does look, from present indications, as though there was going to be a smash-up on the Debs end. In several localities the two seem to have made up their minds to "unite" in two parties. The very latest development of this political puzzle is that the Kangaroos have coolly declared that, a majority of their members having voted for the name S. D. P., that is now the name of their "party." The Debsites are saying unkind things of them, the quintessence of which may be summed up in two words: "Stop, thief."

Thus started, proceeded and ended the Kangaroo episode in the Socialist Labor Party, an episode full of wholesome lessons to the membership of the S. L. P., and incidentally to the Kangaroos as well. To such of the former as were inclined to be easy-going and lenient in tolerating, within the Party organization, elements utterly at variance with the Party's fundamental principle, and therefore at war against the Party itself, it taught that to permit this means that we will, sooner or later, be made to pay the penalty for such folly; that the Party organization, which has in its keeping the cause of the Social Revolution and which is obliged to form its lines under the fire of the enemy, the capitalist class, must be kept free, absolutely, from all such who, either by reason of design or ignorance, stab us in the back while we were facing the foe in battle. To the Kangaroos, if they are at all capable of learning, the episode should teach that it is folly to try and capture a political movement by capturing a few committees, no matter how important these may seem; that the management of a political movement must always truly reflect the rank and file of that movement or else it cannot stand; that, therefore, it is not only useless to call the management bosses, czars, popes, tyrants and the like, and the rank and file oppressed and misguided angels, but it is unwise as well, because in doing so you offer an insult to the rank and file by degrading them to the level of puppets who will jump as the string is pulled. Lastly, that the "intolerance" displayed by a political movement that knows what it is about, is like the intolerance contained in the dictum that two and two make four and cannot, by any manner of means, be made five.

The Socialist Labor Party emerged from this struggle unscathed and stronger than ever. Not one point of importance had been gained by the Kangaroos; defeated again and again, they had to vacate one position after another and, like the lion that has just shaken a pack of hounds off his flanks, the Party stands there in the bright light of the

sun, unhampered, self-reliant, truly united and ready for the fray. It is the same Party it was before, and yet not the same. It has cast off some dross and is the cleaner and purer for it; it has passed through a trying experience and is the firmer and wiser for it. All hail to the Socialist Labor Party as it holds on high, untrammelled and unblemished, the standard of the social revolution.

PARTY ORGANIZATION.

This chapter had best be taken up by States, and show successively where and how the late "unpleasantness" has affected the organization. The Kangaroos, in order to bolster up their side, and being experts in unscrupulous and stupid lying, have been hard at work to create confusion, by means of forged general votes, wild-eyed statements that they controlled whole States—as, for instance, Massachusetts—so that, perhaps, there are in our own ranks some who are not quite clear as to which is which. A truthful account will be borne out by future history; and a truthful account we shall give.

ALABAMA.

The organization in this State has virtually gone to sleep. The South, even with regard to such States as have some industrial development, does not as yet offer conditions favorable to the maintenance of S. L. P. organizations. At the time of July 10 there were three working sections in the State—in Birmingham, Blockton and Belle Ellen. The former, which had the seat of the State Committee, was sound, and in the hands of staunch men; the two latter were composed of miners. Blockton, with a German membership, had an English-speaking organizer, while Belle Ellen, with an English-speaking membership, had a German organizer, who, at one time, had been a member at Blockton. When the trouble came, neither section seemed to know where it was at. They decided to mount the fence, and, for all we know, they may be riding it yet, if they still exist. Birmingham seems to have gone to sleep, but there are a few good men in the State who will take hold again when conditions are more favorable.

Alabama will be all right in time. Kangarooism has no foothold.

ARIZONA.

This territory has at present but one section, located at Phoenix. Shortly before the trouble in New York, there had been trouble in Phoenix. A few *Appeal to Reason* men had tried to take possession of the section, and proceeded to expel the loyal comrades. The N. E. C. interfered, recognized the organization of the men who had formed that section, and that ended it. This matter had just been settled when Kangarooism broke loose, and the men who had been forced out then set up the semblance of an organization, and gave Mr. Slobodin & Company an opportunity to count one more section for themselves; but it did not last long.

Another section was at one time formed at Mesa, but it soon disbanded.

ARKANSAS.

A section was formed recently at Prairie Creek, growing out of the miners' strike in that region, but the very comrade who worked hard to organize it had to admit that the advice of the N. E. C. to wait and

better prepare the material before organizing was good advice. The men, drawn together by the impulse of the moment in an organization the aims of which they did not fully understand, soon left him isolated, and the section may be considered dead.

CALIFORNIA.

This State has had a Party history distinctly its own, and its Party movement cannot be compared, on parallel lines, with that of other States. It is the home of Mr. Job Harriman, the first man on the Kangaroo Presidential ticket, and second man on that of the Debsites', and he is, so to speak, the link that connects the "united." This Mr. Harriman, a lawyer by the way, had been the State Organizer for quite some time, had toured the State in a van, and had "organized" sections. Curious reports used to reach the N. E. C. as to how he organized. He made speeches preceding the organization, in which he never mentioned the Socialist Labor Party. In this way he did "organize" a good many places in that middle class State, all of them one-horse towns, but most of his sections had a way of never being heard from after they had been chartered and supplies sent. The section list of that State, whenever it was sent to the State Committee for revision during Mr. Harriman's activity, came back with about as many sections taken off as had been put on, and many others were marked "Not heard from." Some were heard from, however, in that a demand was made upon the N. E. C. to exert itself to bring about "a union of all Socialist forces." In many other ways the peculiar character of these sections cropped out. Only the other day it was reported to us that the organizer of the Kangaroo section at Watsonville had asked one of our men whether he belonged to the Slobodin or the *Volkszeitung* faction. All in all, Mr. Harriman was out for building up a cheap reputation as an organizer, to be used as a stepping stone into a broader field. He wanted to develop into a national organizer. His methods created resentment among straight-out Party men, and reports began to reach us which corroborated our impression of the character of his work. But the matter was not ripe for direct interference and we waited and watched him. With the unerring instinct of men of his stamp, he must have perceived that the N. E. C. was not an admirer of his work, and that the chances for getting into the "broader field" were slim. That perception left him no interest in the S. L. P. Hence, when the Kangaroo conspiracy reached its climax, it did not take him very long, making due allowance for the distance and for the fact that he was not, we think, in the original conspiracy, to make up his mind where he belonged.

There was considerable wabbling all over the State at that time; very few sections stood absolutely firm, and the then State organ, *The Class Struggle*, was sitting on the fence, bewailing the situation, lamenting over the disharmony, and maintaining, on the whole, the extremely suspicious attitude of trying to be fair to both sides. The San Francisco *Tageblatt*, the prototype of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on the Pacific coast, had, shortly before it could know about the *Volkszeitung coup d'etat*, renounced the S. L. P. and gone into the Debs camp. But there was no immediate flop-over to the Kangaroos on the part of those at variance with the Party. This hesitancy was due in

part to the distance, and in part to the fact that no one seemed to care to take the lead. But Harriman then hastened to San Francisco and supplied that want. Fortunately, for more reasons than one, Comrade Hickey, who had been sent on a long tour by the N. E. C. across the continent, arrived in California a short time after the outbreak in New York, and landed in San Francisco in time to take a hand in the proceedings. By this time the Cleveland Board of Appeals had come out, and had been dealt with. A short time before this the San Francisco Section had made a demand for a general vote to call a special National Convention to "heal the breach," to which convention the Kangaroos were supposed to be invited. The N. E. C., seeing through the scheme, had submitted the vote, declining to make use of its prerogative to reject and demand an endorsement by five per cent. of the sections; but it took a firm stand against the proposition, which was afterwards overwhelmingly defeated.

Section Oakland was the first to jump out. This section, according to the report of Comrade Hickey, contained the worst congregation of freaks he had met on his whole tour, and this report was fully corroborated by the action of the section. First they sent a resolution condemning everything—*The People*, the N. E. C., etc.—and favoring the Kangs. Then they took it all back; and subsequently, when the Board of Appeals had kangarooed, they again went the other way. We paid no attention to their gyrations, having more important work to look after.

It was near September, '99, and things began to shape themselves in San Francisco. Harriman was there, as has been said, and he had worked out a string of reasons, all numbered, and one sillier than the other, attempting to show why the Party was wrong and why the Board was right. Comrade Hickey met him in debate, and smashed his reasons. To go into all details would lead us too far. Suffice it to say that Harriman succeeded in getting a majority of the City Central Committee to recognize the Kangaroo Committee. What now followed deviated somewhat from the course things used to take elsewhere under similar circumstances. The offices in the section were in the hands of men who did not propose to be pulled out of the S. L. P. by Mr Harriman, to be landed in the mire of a middle-class "Socialist" movement. These got the loyal membership together, and they took the stand that, inasmuch as the by-laws of Section San Francisco provided that the section was to form "an inseparable part of the Socialist Labor Party," the action of the City Central Committee was clearly illegal, and, therefore, null and void. That any member or members who voted to recognize the Kangaroos, who clearly were not the Socialist Labor Party, had voted themselves out of the Party. That no re-organization was necessary, and that the section would go right on retaining all property in the hands of its duly elected officers. This solution, being as good as any that had come to our notice, and better than many, suited us well enough, and the N. E. C. let it go at that.

The section in California next in size was Los Angeles. Before the clash its membership was about evenly divided between out-and-out proletarians and such as must be ranked with the middle class. The latter were chiefly organized in two wards of the city. The delegates of

these two wards to the City Central Committee showed strong leanings toward the Kangaroo side of the fight, and had, in fact, pushed resolutions through their organizations, which were, by the way, chiefly composed of women with churchly inclinations and a marked tendency for goody-goodness, favoring recognition of the Kanga. Comrade Hickey arrived about that time, Los Angeles being the first place he struck in the State. He went to work, and succeeded in having the resolutions withdrawn. This, of course, was of little value, save for the moral effect at that stage of the fight, for the proletarian side of the house had about made up its mind that it must rid itself of an element purely sentimental, knowing nothing about the Party, its mission and its work, and caring less; an element that could be swung for the Party and against it, just as the last impression made upon it happened to have been. But they did not know exactly how to go about it, when Mr. Harriman, whom the Kangaroo State Committee at San Francisco had sent on a tour through the State to patch up its fences, came along to help them out. He came to break up the section, and was promptly squelched. He then took the ladies and some reverends out, and with them formed a Kangaroo section, thus solving the problem. According to reports, it was a clean separation—the workingmen on the one side, the doctors, lawyers, reverends, and ladies on the other. After this the section did splendid work. It ran up a large circulation for *The People*, and really formed the backbone of our organization in the State. The smaller sections, such as San Jose, Stockton, Riverside, San Pedro and others stood firm. They rid themselves of what few treacherous elements they had, and remained intact. What the Kangaroos have outside of 'Frisco and Los Angeles we confess not to know; the style of Harriman's organizing was too much for us to keep track of, and we suspect that Mr. Harriman knows as little as do we.

Party affairs in San Francisco have been anything but pleasant since then, and they have finally led to the suspension and reorganization of the section, because its attitude was such as to cripple the work of the Party, not only in 'Frisco itself, but elsewhere in the State as well. After the division had taken place, Comrade E. T. Kingsley had been induced to come from San Jose to 'Frisco, because it was felt that a man of recognized ability should take up the fight against the Kangaroos, who were numerically stronger than our section. Kingsley came, certain arrangements were made—not by the section itself, but by a number of members—to subscribe to a fund to be applied to sustain Kingsley and enable him to devote his whole time to the work of building up the organization. But soon all sorts of complaints came in. One set against Kingsley, to the effect that he did not want to do any work; that he was overbearing, wanted to order everybody about, and that they could not get along with him at all. The other set of complaints, also coming from members of the section, sounded different, and were directed against a number of other members, and these set forth that Kingsley, a man of energy and ability, had first tried to get the section down to correct methods of conducting its work, which work had all along been done in hap-hazard fashion, and had resulted in producing a chaotic state of affairs. That in doing so, he had run up against the pet notions of the very men who had called him, and

these men, well-meaning enough, but for the most part very old men, incapable and unwilling to adapt themselves to the conditions confronting the section, had blocked every move he proposed, and had, finally, made it impossible for him to accomplish anything. The outcome of it was that Kingsley went back to San Jose.

After this, Section San Jose sent to the State Committee a proposition calling for a general vote of the sections in the State to remove the seat of said committee from San Francisco to Los Angeles. The State Committee, at a regular meeting, four members being present, received the proposition and sent it to the sections for a vote. One of the four, Comrade Carpenter, objected, but was out-voted. The section then called a meeting, and ordered the State Committee to rescind the action, an absurd proceeding, because a State Committee, representing all the sections in the State, cannot be ordered about by any one of them. The principal objection urged by the section was that the proposition of San Jose had not been seconded by other sections; that there were no State regulations on this subject, and, in the absence of such, the provisions of the National Constitution would have to be applied. Meantime the vote had been taken, and Los Angeles had been chosen by the votes of Los Angeles and San Jose, other sections not voting. It was reported that San Francisco and Stockton had refused to vote, claiming the call was illegal.

San Francisco now turned to the N. E. C. for an opinion. The N. E. C. went into the matter, and decided as follows:

1. That the State Committee, while it had the right to demand from San Jose that the section secure a seconder, had also the right to send out the call without such seconder in the absence of any specific rules in the state constitution upon that subject. That, moreover, the State Committee had the right to submit to its constituents, of its own initiative, any question it could not or cared not to decide itself.

2. That if a quorum be present at a regular meeting of the State Committee, the committee can transact business, and that, according to parliamentary law, absentees are counted with the majority.

The implication was that the three absentees, had they been present, would have voted not to submit, and these, together with Carpenter, would have made a majority of one against sending out the proposition. This point was not clearly made, but it was implied. From other sources it was reported that one of the three absentees would have voted in favor of submitting. Whichever way this might be cut no figure anyway, because the business of the Party cannot be transacted by those who absent themselves, nor can it await the pleasure of those who stay away.

It is also clear that, if a State Committee has reason to believe that the interests of the Party demand a removal of the committee, it has the right to say so, and to ask the membership to decide the question, and a section that refuses to take a vote simply throws away its chance to influence such a vote in the direction it desires the vote to go.

After this the course of the section became such as to bear out the charges made against it as to the utter lack of all sense of order.

In the State Committee, the question of complying with the general

vote came up. Four were against, and three for abiding by the result. The section then preferred charges against two, and suspended them, one for having moved to comply, the other, the secretary, for having sent the stamps, books, and other property of the State organization to the State Committee at Los Angeles, which had in the meantime been elected. Incidentally, Section San Francisco at the same time expelled E. T. Kingsley, who is a member of Section Santa Clara County, and coolly reported this alleged expulsion to the N. E. C. No notice was taken of the report, because it was evident that the section was trifling with the constitution, knowing full well that under it sections have jurisdiction over their own members, and that the expulsion of a member of one section by another section is simply an absurdity. Section Los Angeles, when San Francisco refused to comply with the general vote, appealed to the Board of Appeals at Providence, and that body has since rendered a decision, taking substantially the same ground the N. E. C. had taken. The decision was written out quite in full, and published in *The People* of May 20, 1900.

It must be added that the former treasurer of the San Francisco State Committee (Carpenter) had refused to give up the funds in his possession. The State Committee had sent Comrade Holmes to San Francisco with orders to straighten the section, if possible; but he reported that he found it impossible to do anything with it. The men were obstinate, had worked themselves into a wrongful position, and would not recede.

The section had at first backed up Carpenter in his refusal to withhold the funds of the State organization from the State Committee, but later, fearing the consequences of the stand taken, the City Central Committee had voted to order him to pay over the money. Carpenter refused even then, on the ground that he would not give up before the Board of Appeals had decided upon the Los Angeles appeal. The motion to suspend him from the City Central Committee was voted down.

Another violation of the constitution the section became guilty of when it refused to at all entertain and refer to the Grievance Committee, without debate, as demanded by the constitution, a charge against one of its members, who was said to have made an attack, at a public meeting, and from the Party's platform, upon the S. T. & L. A. and the Party's policy in connection therewith.

For all these reasons, and on the general grounds that the section, as at present conducted, stood in the way of Party progress in San Francisco, endangered the Party's interests in view of the approaching campaign, and left a large and fertile field practically unworked, the State Committee demanded that the section be suspended and the committee authorized to reorganize. In this view the N. E. C. concurred, and the section was suspended on May 7. The work of reorganization has been completed, according to last reports.

As to the Kangaroos, it may be said that they simply claim the whole State as their own. There was reason to fear, had the State Committee remained in San Francisco, that this claim would have been helped along by our own men, who, in the face of a situation more serious than in any other State, seemed to be entirely absorbed with their own petty quarrels.

With the State Committee in the hands of a vigorous, loyal section, things have changed for the better. It was this feature of the situation that had much to do with shaping the course of the N. E. C. in regard to Section San Francisco. As near as can be ascertained at this time, California has eight working sections.

COLORADO.

There is not even a trace of Kangarooism in this State, nor has there ever been. The organization in the State is in reliable and capable hands, and the sections, of which there are at present nine, are all sound on the Party position. With regard to Kangarooism, Colorado offers nothing of especial interest; nothing happened, and the State in that respect is as uninteresting as an unbroken line.

CONNECTICUT.

Here the situation looked decidedly warm for a time, and this was due to the fact that the State Committee did, in a way, fall into the hands of the Kangaroos. That committee was located in New Haven, and elected, of course, by that section; that section in turn was, in its majority, made up of old German Socialists, many of them cigarmakers of the Union No. 90 type, with the unavoidable attachment of singing society, sick society, and cremation society, and all that that implies.

The State Committee was in the hands of loyal comrades, and had taken a decided stand against the Publishing Association and its *Volkszeitung*. This stirred up the fossils in that section, who, when all was quiet, never bothered about Party work, but who now came, each with blood in his eye and a knife up his sleeve. The State Committee had endorsed the attitude of the Party in its controversy with the *Volkszeitung* on the taxation question, and a section meeting was then called to overthrow the action of the State Committee. That meeting did take a stand against the Party standpoint, and repudiated the State Committee. Shortly thereafter the State Convention was held at Bridgeport, at which convention the controversy naturally came up, and was dealt with, the convention overwhelmingly sustaining the State Committee. But while the convention took a very correct stand in this respect, it made a serious mistake when it left the seat of the committee in New Haven, exposed to the machinations of the Kangaroos. This became obvious when the new committee was elected after the convention, the loyal members of the former committee being voted down, and a hostile set of men being chosen. This was the state of affairs when the news of the *Volkszeitung* coup reached New Haven. The old State Committee had not yet turned the Party property over to the new, and when the news came from New York, the old wisely decided not to let the new have a thing that they could prevent them from getting. That the situation perfectly justified this course was soon shown, when both Section and State Committee lined up with the spurious committee the Kangs had set up. The N. E. C. then took a hand, suspended New Haven, recognized the old State Committee as holding over, instructed it to reorganize the section, and ordered that steps be taken to insure the election of a new committee. Section Bridgeport was afterwards chosen as the seat of the State Committee by the sections in the State. In New Haven it was a clean separation of the membership on the lines of old and new. The old,

the German branch, went with the Kangaroos; the new, the American branch, stood by the Party. Elsewhere in the State, Kangaroolism did not thrive at all, although there were other sections in the State largely, and some entirely, composed of German members. These would have none of the *Volkszeitung*, and are, in fact, more bitterly opposed to the Kongs than even the English-speaking members; and they have ample reason, for they know them more intimately, and have had a better chance to follow the crooked course of the *Volkszeitung*, which, more particularly since it started its anti-voting campaign, and down to its contradictory contortions on the Debsite question, has been truly nauseating.

An attempt was made in Milford to capture the section, and failed. There was some cleaning out in a few other towns, but most sections in the State the Kangaroos could not even think of touching, as Mr. Feigenbaum had ample chance to find out when he toured the State and gathered experience. In South Norwalk the German comrades played a rather cruel trick on Mr. Feigenbaum. They knew of him, by reputation, as the "hired logomachist" of the *Volkszeitung*, and, when the turned up to convert them to the unholy cause of Kangaroolism, they made up their minds to "tax" his powers of endurance along that line. They gravely informed him that, while they could not call a public meeting, as he desired, they would call a meeting of the section and give him a chance to state his case. Then they kept him talking until after midnight, and remained unimpressible. When Feigenbaum began to show signs of exhaustion and wanted to give up in despair, they asked him questions, and kept him at it a few hours more; in fact, they had settled back in their chairs, determined to keep him talking till 6 o'clock in the morning, if it could be done; but it could not be done. Mr. Feigenbaum collapsed before that hour arrived, and shook the dust of South Norwalk from his feet, a sadder, though not a wiser man.

There are at present sixteen sections in Connecticut in good working order, and the State is perfectly safe. The Kangaroos threaten to make an attempt to put a ticket in the field in conjunction with the Debsites, but that will in no wise affect the Party's voting strength.

DELAWARE.

Delaware had one German section at Wilmington, and it kangarooded. Whether it still exists, we know not. It used to come and go sporadically, and, as a political and propagandist factor, it never amounted to anything.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The District of Columbia has one section. This section, known as Section Washington, D. C., being located where there is no chance to vote, and, consequently, none of the invigorating influences of an S. L. P. campaign, has remained small. By its own request it was attached to the Maryland State organization, to be enabled to take part in the work to some extent at least. There is absolutely no Kangaroolism there.

GEORGIA.

Georgia has one section, at Augusta, recently formed. Atlanta used

to have a section, but it has gone to sleep. Next to Alabama, Georgia is a State that will offer a good field for the work of the Party in time to come, but that time is not yet. Industrial development is making rapid strides, and a proletarian population is being gradually massed.

ILLINOIS.

Illinois has fourteen sections. Kangarooism, outside of Chicago, never had any foothold. Right at the outset a section of German miners at Springfield sided with the *Volkzeitung*, and the organizer, when sending letters of indignation, used to particularly spread himself upon the subject of taxation. His line of reasoning was the usual one: "The worker produces all wealth; taxes must be paid out of the wealth produced by the worker, hence the worker pays the taxes." That section disappeared from view, and has not been heard of since. After that, another little section of ten, at Pekin, began to wobble, and was finally suspended. Its organizer, an irate German tailor, sent a letter demanding that no copies of *The People* be sent to the town of Pekin. He could not be accommodated, as there were a number of other subscribers. That section, if it ever had any real life, disappeared from view. There was, perhaps, a little uneasiness here and there, but no further disturbance.

The real trouble was in Chicago. There was really no organic connection, at first, between the Chicago nest of traitors and those of the other Kangaroo towns further east. The Chicagoans had no use for the *Volkzeitung*, and never dreamt of joining this party until, forced by the logic of events, they had to. They had a local paper of their own; they had an editor, and to crown their misfortune, they had several more would-be editors. A local paper is usually started by a section when it has in its midst a man, or men, pregnant with a mission, hankering for notoriety, and in need of a job. Unable to exist in their local field, these sheets are local in name only, and soon become competitors with the official Party organ in precisely the same field, going over the same ground, feeding on pastures the Party organ opened, and in which the Party organization had made the first clearings. No sooner are they started than they write to the N. E. C. for section addresses to send sample copies, and in other ways act as though a gross injustice was done them because the whole Party does not give them support; they are competitors, and they feel like competitors. And no sooner is there any trouble than they turn and seek to stab the Party in the back, in strict obedience to their antagonistic interests. Instead of supporting one paper, and supporting it well, the Party is made to carry along one or more in addition; as many, in fact, as certain sections choose to foist upon it. Instead of making the existence of one paper secure, and then in an intelligent, well-matured fashion, approach the question of starting another, as necessity or opportunity may suggest, we try to sustain a number, and make a botch of it. Can there be greater waste of effort? Instead of setting up our papers under conditions that will make each of them a pillar of the movement, subject to the discipline of the Party, in perfect harmony with it and with its aims and its policy, we have allowed them to be placed upon our shoulders under conditions that made many a center of disloyalty

from the very start, and gradually drove others into the same attitude. Can there be greater folly?

We, as a Party, have had our experience with *Labor*, *The Class Struggle*, *The Workers' Call*, *The Tocsin*, *The Proletarian*, with Danish, Polish, and Hungarian papers, to say nothing of the *Volkszeitung* and all that hangs thereby, and we ought to have had enough of it.

But to return to Chicago. It had its *Workers' Call*, and it had A. M. Simons, editor, a semi-parson; incidentally, it had also B. Berlyn, snap-shot editor, a beneficiary of the Cigarmakers' Union, a man with as much of an opinion as to his own importance as Mr. Simons had himself about himself. In a vague sort of way they dreamt a dream of glory and greatness. *The Workers' Call* to be the national official organ; Chicago to be the seat of the N. E. C.; and when the *coup d'état* came in New York, they rose equal to the occasion. There was nothing small about them. In point of bland impudence and unmitigated gall, they stood head and shoulders above the Cleveland Board of Appeals. What they did amounted to nothing less than that their City Committee set itself up as the N. E. C. of the Party—a sort of voluntary rescue committee. It declared that Section New York was in a state of anarchy, and that the National Executive Committee had collapsed, called upon the sections to stop paying dues, and issued a sort of call for a general vote to withhold recognition, said vote made returnable to Chicago. It is not known how many returns they received; but judging from letters received at this end of the line, they must have got some, and those red-hot and peppery. This piece of stupid insolence was too much for even some semi-Kangaroos. The N. E. C. took its time about them, ascertained first the state of affairs in the city, waited until the nucleus for a reorganization had been gathered, and then suspended the section. According to reports received at that time, the suspension staggered the traitors; they must have thought that they appeared to everybody as big as they saw themselves, and the idea of the N. E. C. daring to suspend them had apparently never entered their minds. For a time they held aloof from the Kangaroos, big with schemes of starting a fourth party, with Chicago as the center, and yet leaning upon the Kangs. The latter finally made it clear to them that this sort of thing would not do; that it was a question of coming down and paying dues, or getting out. They came down. The influence of *The Workers' Call* had built up a clique clustering around it which completely controlled the section, and, when suspension came, our people had to start small, with about a dozen men. They have since grown upward; the other side, with its *Workers' Call*, is growing downward. Very soon that sheet will be out of the way, and things will then resume their natural course.

Chicago had also a Danish paper (*Arbejderen*), which had been recognized as a Party organ. This sheet tried hard to be for and against the Party at the same time, and to retain the support of both the S. L. P. and the Kangs. The men who conducted it were all members of the Kangaroo section, but they were willing, after some prevarication, to recognize the authority and submit to the supervision of our State Committee. This was a little too much of a proposition, and,

after they had shown their hand sufficiently, the paper was officially repudiated. A few weeks ago it curled up and died, transferring its subscription list to a Danish capitalist paper. The class-conscious Danish Socialists made short work of it when the position of the paper had become clear enough to act.

INDIANA.

Indiana has nine sections, four of which—Logansport, Wabash, Elwood and Marion—have been recently organized by Comrade Henry J. Poelling, of St. Louis, who is still in the State at this writing, and will, no doubt, add a few more sections. There are a number of towns in which sections existed at one time or another, and most of these can be reorganized and held in line with some effort. The State Committee and the sections remained firm and unshaken during the attempt on the Party's life. There was not, and there is not now, any Kangarooism in the State, that we know of.

IOWA.

Iowa, an agricultural State, had always a small organization, and it is small to-day. There are three sections at present, in Clinton and Davenport, in fairly good shape. Kangarooism there is none, at least, not organized.

KANSAS.

The organization in this State, a product of premature growth, has entirely disappeared. It rested upon the shoulders of a few men, and when these few ceased to be active or left the State, there had not been enough class-consciousness developed among the membership to continue the work. There has been no Kangarooism, strictly speaking, but the trouble in New York, coupled with the machinations of some individuals, hastened the disintegration. The State may pull itself together again during the campaign, for there are some good men left in a number of places, and *The People* is doing its missionary work all along.

KENTUCKY.

This State has five sections—at Louisville, Paducah, Newport, Covington, and Fulton. It is in good hands, and there is not a trace of Kangarooism.

MAINE.

Maine has one section at Hallowell. It is composed of Italian workmen, and it is straight.

MARYLAND.

Maryland has at present only one section, at Baltimore. Hagerstown and Canton used to have each a section. The former collapsed a long time ago, while the latter, a small and sleepy affair, kangarooed. There was an attempt to capture Baltimore, but it failed.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The history of the Party in this State has been full of interest, enough of it to keep the membership on the alert. The State has thirty-four sections, and is, therefore, as well, if not better, organized than any State in the Union, because the organization is well distributed over the State. For a good space of the time covered by this report the State Committee was located in Worcester, having been removed from Boston to Holyoke, and from there to Worcester. While the committee was still at Holyoke, the defection of Section Haverhill

occurred, and with it, as its cause, the defection of Mr. James F. Carey. Carey, from the very time of his settling upon Haverhill, seems to have had plans of his own, and these were not in line with the S. L. P. Reports used to reach the N. E. C. that Section Haverhill, under the sway of Mr Carey, was conducted in a peculiar way. Outside speakers of the Party were kept away under one pretext or another; the Party press and Party literature were kept out, and a Carey kingdom was built up. For what purpose transpired later on, after Mr. Carey had been elected a member of the City Council of Haverhill. He had all along been secretly working against the Party, and as early as January, '98, Comrade Carless, then on a tour in the New England States, had sent on from Hartford, Conn., some letters written by Carey full of denunciation of the Party and its work.

On February 23, 1898, the N. E. C. had before it a letter from Section Haverhill announcing their withdrawal from the Party. Carey, when nominated for the office he had been elected to, had signed the customary blank resignation, and that matter was at once taken up. The National Secretary addressed to him a registered letter, calling upon him to resign, but Carey knew what that letter contained, and returned it unopened. The State Committee was then called upon to write to the authorities of the city of Haverhill informing them that Mr. Carey, having betrayed the Party, could no longer be considered a representative of the S. L. P. Attention was also called to the fact that he had signed a resignation, to take effect whenever he went back on the Party. Carey did not, of course, resign his office, taking the stand, first, that he was not elected by the few Party members; and second, that, when he had to explain, he had given the blank resignation to the section, not to the Party, and was responsible to the section only. The section having gone with him, he was perfectly justified in hanging on to his job. For a short time the section remained "independent," and then drifted into the Debs Democracy. Later Mr. Carey voted in the City Council for a \$15,000 armory appropriation, thus throwing a flood of light upon his conduct. Very curious were the explanations given by the gentleman for this act of betraying the interests of the working class. Not only did he set up the plea that, had he voted against, he would have been liable to punishment under the law; but he also maintained that, since the armory was in an unsanitary condition, it was but right towards the citizen soldiers who had to use it to vote money to have it put in good shape. The Carey "movement" has since developed more and more. It has produced Socialist (?) mayors and assemblymen, all of whom talk and act just like Democratic office-holders. They have been elected, and feel that they must represent faithfully the interests of ALL classes in the community, and grant franchises, etc. We know what this means.

Meanwhile the State Committee had been transferred to Worcester. It was a very unsatisfactory body—unmethodical, incapable, and with some of its members decidedly out of gear with the Party. The organization held its own and advanced despite this committee.

When the *Volkzeitung* made its *coup*, the committee was evenly divided—three stood by the Party and three against, while the seventh man rode the fence. But the Party in Massachusetts had polled three

per cent. of the total vote, had become an official Party, and had come under the operation of the Caucus Act. That meant that the committee, whose term expired with the close of the year, could not be removed, nor could the committee itself change its officers, unless they voluntarily resigned. And the officers, the secretary and the treasurer, happened to be among the three who stood by the Party. The secretary, L. D. Usher, fell by the wayside later on, but he stood straight then. The section had never been much good, a flabby organization, saturated with a spirit not to be found in the average S. L. P. organization. But when the trouble came, the section began to act in a queer way. It forbade the sale of *The People*, and suspended one of its members for having violated its injunction. At the same time reports came from Section Lawrence, showing that the German branch of that section wanted to swing the section into the Kangaroo camp. Prompt action was taken. Comrade Curran, of Providence, was sent to Worcester, with power to investigate, and, if necessary, suspend and reorganize the section, and from there proceed to Lawrence. He went, found in Worcester a numerous element in the section at work against the Party, and proceeded in accordance with his instructions. Unable to go to Lawrence himself, for lack of time, he turned that work over to Comrade Malloney, and Lawrence was reorganized. The weak spots in the State then showed up in rapid succession, and were dealt with as fast as they came along. Chelsea, Malden, Springfield, were suspended and reorganized. Taunton ditto; but there an English section had just been formed, and stood ready to take the place of the German section when that had to be suspended. In Lowell, the German branch was gently, but firmly, shoved out by the English branch, when the former got ready to join the Kangaroo procession. In Holyoke and New Bedford the German branches declared themselves "independent." The former sent word that they would stand aside until the National Convention of the Party had taken place. It is our opinion that a body of men which deserts the Party while engaged in a battle for its life, even if they do not join the enemy, is not very desirable material for the fighting S. L. P., and they should not be readmitted. Adams, Clinton and Westfield were also suspended, but these have not been reorganized. The two former were German sections exclusively, while the third was a small English section entirely under the sway of a Kangaroo paper, *The Proletarian*, and its editor, Mr. Clarence E. Spellman. The almost unanimity with which the lawyers in the Party have risen all over the country in the defense of the right of "free criticism" and have lined up on the Kangaroo side, has been truly astounding, and can only be explained by the fact that they are thoroughly class-conscious—as lawyers. From the Pacific to the Atlantic, from Harriman, King and Edlin in California, Thomas J. Morgan, Sissman and some others in Chicago, Spellman in Massachusetts, down to Hilquit, Boudianoff and Slobodinnoffsky in our own New York, they have stood up and fearlessly faced the "tyranny" of the S. L. P., and we have reason to be devoutly thankful for this consummation.

Fitchburg, which was suspended much later, has been reorganized.

The term of the Worcester State Committee had nearly expired when

a State Convention was held at Worcester. The delegates to this convention had to be elected under the State Caucus Act already referred to, not by the sections of the Party, but by the voters of the S. L. P. in the various districts at caucuses called and held according to the law. That system enabled some Kangaroos to be delegates, and there was considerable talk of how they would capture and walk off with the convention.

To help our comrades in frustrating any attempts at foul play, Comrade De Leon was sent to the convention, and the Kangaroos, who evidently did want to make an effort to fish in troubled waters, had secured Mr. M. Hilquit. Not so very long before this Mr. Hilquit, in imitation of an illustrious example, had in the "Bogus" *People* published a farewell address to Comrade De Leon, saying, in substance, that henceforth he would give him up for good, and would have no more to do with him. This address appeared after Mr. Hilquit had been expelled from the S. L. P., and contributed much mirthfulness to the lives of the comrades engaged in the fight. At Worcester, however, he reconsidered and wanted to debate with Comrade De Leon, but the latter considered Mr. Hilquit "not debatable."

After some wrangling, Hilquit was permitted to address the convention and give his cause away, and he was then unceremoniously ruled off the floor.

The stalwarts had the majority, although Boston, through the negligence, or worse, of the State Committee, had not been able to caucus and was not represented. The majority dealt with the Kangaroos in very non-compunctious fashion, and did not give them space enough to breathe.

At that convention, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, who had secured credentials from Chelsea, began to play a very ambiguous role. She and her following had nearly played out in Boston, for reasons too long to explain here, and she was anxious to prepare another berth for herself. Up to this time she had been very profuse in her denunciation of the dastardly act of the *Volkszeitung*, but now she began to veer about, and drift towards her present position, which found its crowning expression in a statement by her, published in the "Bogus," thanking the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association for "having manfully resisted her clamor in the past."

What this change of front implied developed when a new State Committee had to be elected.

The State Committee had been called to meet in Boston, and when the members, elected at the Senate District Conventions, arrived at the hall they found a policeman inside in charge of the Secretary, L. D. Usher. The members were asked to pass their credentials through what one of them called "a hole in the door," and back of that hole was Mrs. Avery and David Goldstein passing upon the credentials. Some flatly refused to give up their credentials in this fashion; others did pass them in; some of these were admitted and some were not. Those who did get in found that the trio managing this latest conspiracy against the Party, had secured the services of several spurious delegates who held fraudulent credentials, with never a caucus or convention to back them. Objection was raised and overruled; our

men withdrew, and with legally elected members organized the State Committee. It was then that the Kangaroo papers explained to their readers how the State of Massachusetts had come out for the *Volkszeitung* and its party, and how the "De Leonites" had been vanquished. It is necessary to add that, inasmuch as the whole procedure was in plain violation of the election law of the State, the conspirators, if they ever try to follow up the scheme then hatched and executed, stand a fair chance of landing in jail. It is to be hoped that our comrades in Massachusetts will be watchful and unyielding when that time comes.

The trio adopted resolutions, signed by David Goldstein, Secretary, to the effect that they recognized the Kangaroo Committee at New York. Section Boston promptly expelled them.

Since the Party work outside of purely election work could not be conducted by the State Committee under the law, a separate committee, called the "General Committee of the Sections of the S. L. P. of Massachusetts," was chosen and is attending to the work of agitation, collecting dues, etc.

Massachusetts is in good shape, its vote growing, and, with efficient management, the State will give a good account of itself next November.

MICHIGAN.

Michigan has now only two sections, Detroit and Holland, the third one, Saginaw, having kangarooed, and has not yet been reorganized. The struggle centered in Detroit, where the conflict between the old and the new had been on for some time before the break came. The old German element practically went out in a body, and the new has now full control of what is a good live section, fully in line with the Party's position. Section Holland is small.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota has three sections, Duluth, St. Paul and Minneapolis. The two former never wavered for a second, but there was trouble in the latter. Minneapolis and St. Paul jointly elected the State Committee. The Minneapolis contingent of Kangaroos tried hard to push the section into an attitude hostile to the State Committee, which was loyal, and to the Party at large. There had also been a local paper, *The Tocsin*, fairly well conducted while it was in the field, but which had, before it died, developed some of the features common to local papers of the sort described before. It also wanted to "reform" the Party by decentralizing it. The men who had run that paper were in a frame of mind to make them susceptible to the allurements of the Kangaroos; the inevitable lawyer was also in the game. Up to the time of the outbreak in New York they had not given any sign of hostility, and, shortly before it, *The People* contained a resolution of the State Committee against the machinations of the Publishing Association, which resolution was signed by the then Secretary, A. H. Lee, the very same A. H. Lee who is now editor of the "Bogus," denouncing what he once approved, and approving what he then denounced.

Then there began inside of Section Minneapolis a series of occurrences that put us in the mind of a game of see-saw. At one meeting the Kangaroo minority would appear, fully organized, with a well-

arranged programme, resolutions in their inside pockets, and, owing to the absence of a number of loyal members, would "capture" the section. The Kangaroo papers would then go into ecstasies of joy, and announce, with the beating of tom-toms and the blare of trumpets, that Section Minneapolis had endorsed "Slob," the man who "acted" National Secretary. This would arouse the loyal majority, and they turned up at the next meeting, two weeks after, ready to wipe the floor with the endorsers. A contrary set of resolutions then arrived at headquarters. The Kongs would again "capture" and endorse, and again they would be thrown down. When this had happened several times, the majority had enough of the sport, and fired the Kangaroos, including Mr. Lee, who had in the meantime taken his job on the "Bogus."

When the first "capture" took place, the N. E. C. strongly advised the section to at once clean its house, and make a good job of it; but all sorts of considerations stood in the way, and the ludicrous situation was allowed to continue for some time.

MISSOURI.

Missouri has two sections, St. Louis and Kansas City. There were others, but they disappeared long ago. A small section of German miners at Bevier kangarooed. St. Louis had no Kangaroo trouble of any sort, but Kansas City had. That section had a curious conglomeration for a membership, the craziest of whom was sent to the Kangaroo Convention at Rochester. There were some know-it-alls, who, when the break came in New York, sent several yards of questions to headquarters, expecting that an essay be written for their special benefit, instruction and entertainment. The National Secretary, having at that time more important things to look after than the entertainment of freaks, was instructed to handle them with scant courtesy. The framer of the string of questions, finding himself rebuffed, began to declaim loudly against the unconstitutional course of the N. E. C. in suspending sections that had endorsed the Kangaroos. He was told to look up the proceedings of the '96 convention, and he would find that the N. E. C. of that time had the same "unconstitutional" habit, and had suspended Cleveland, the very section that had been suspended again, and about which he—the Kansas Citian—was all upset. It is strange that this very man, only six months or so before, when Comrade Hickey was about to reach Kansas City, had asked the N. E. C. to suspend and reorganize his own section in case Comrade Hickey should be unable to straighten out its freakish membership. Consistency was not his strong point. All along they hung on; they did not want to go to the Kongs, though they had been given quite plainly to understand that they were not considered much good to the S. L. P. Finally, they wanted to reorganize as Section Jackson County, and made application to that effect, stating that, albeit two of their members had voted to recognize the Kangaroos, they were loyal, and even the two would abide by the majority. The application was, under the rules, referred to the State Committee for approval, and they were informed that the two must get out before charter would be granted. That ended it, and Mr. Slobodin got them. The sample sent

to Rochester is said to have made even the Kangs tired, though they are naturally used to freaks.

Kansas City has since been reorganized, and is in good hands.

• NEBRASKA.

Nebraska has three sections, Omaha, South Omaha and Lincoln, all of them small. No Kangaroos in the State that we know of.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire kangarooed completely. It had three sections—Dover and Portsmouth, both very small, and Manchester, with a larger membership, chiefly Germans. Manchester was the home of Mr. F. G. R. Gordon, who betrayed the Party while in its service as an organizer, working for the S. D. P. while he took the money of the S. L. P., and who was later on tangled up in an ugly affair, involving the collection of money from politicians under promise of support at the polls. A full *expose* of the deal was published in *The People* on May 21, 1899, under the title "Different Tactics." True to the saying that politics make strange bed-fellows, the man who worked up that case, H. H. Acton, kangarooed, and is now trying to "unite" with the Debsite, Gordon. There were a few loyal members left in Manchester, members of the English branch, but they lacked the energy necessary to overcome the difficulty and maintain an organization.

NEW JERSEY.

In this State, particularly the portion most strongly organized, the influence of the *Volkzeitung* came into play. The State had, and has now, seven sections, organized by counties, and subdivided into branches. They are: Hudson County, Essex County, Union County, Passaic County, Camden County, Sussex County, and Middlesex County. The three latter were not, and are not now, subdivided into branches, because the membership is too small for that. There was trouble in nearly all of them. Passaic and Essex got over it in short order by forcing the Kangaroo branches out. Hudson had to deal with a Kangaroo majority, but, with good strategy and energetic action, held its own, and took possession of the section, crowding the Kangs out, who haven't gotten over their astonishment to this day. Union and Camden had to be suspended and reorganized, while there was no trouble in Middlesex and Sussex. The contests for the name of the Party in the various counties resulted in our favor, and the S. L. P. name went on the ballot undefiled. The sections in the State are in good shape on the whole.

NEW YORK.

In so far as the fight centered around the National Executive Committee in the City of New York, it has already been treated. There remains the balance of the State to be reported. We have dealt with Queens County and Richmond as portions of Greater New York, and we simply want to say that, in Queens, the largest section, Long Island City, kangarooed, as did also the smaller ones, located at Corona, Glendale, Evergreen, and Wyckoff Heights, small country villages, with a population of small middle-class men and house-owning workingmen. The membership in these was exclusively German, and all of them *Volkzeitung* followers. In College Point and Woodhaven the Kangaroo members were forced out.

In Richmond County there was a clean rupture between the English branch at Northfield and the German branch at Stapleton; the former stood solid, the latter went over to the *Volkszeitung*. Going up State, we first strike Westchester County, and of the ten sections, two collapsed and went over to the enemy. They were located at Portchester and New Rochelle, and were both small and unimportant. Further up the State there was nothing in the Kangaroo line except a few sporadic specimens in Albany, Troy and Schenectady; but Johnstown, in Fulton County, was affected, and had to be reorganized. Oneida had a small section of cigarmakers, and they flopped over. Syracuse had a German branch, and it had to be forced out after some vain attempts on its part to capture the section. Then came Rochester, where Mr. Frank Sieverman held forth. This was Sieverman's chance. He was not in love with the Party, and had less use for the Alliance, which he had fought at the '96 convention, and which had ever since been a standing reproach to his work in the pure and simple trade unions, particularly in his own organization, Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Accordingly, he, with the aid of his pals, swung the section over into the Kangaroo camp, not so much because he liked the Kangs and the *Volkszeitung*, but because he hated and feared the Party. But there were enough staunch men to at once reorganize the section. A number of comrades who had no use for Sieverman, jumped into the breach and took up the fight for the Party. It took some time before the section was ripe for suspension and reorganization, and a ticket had been nominated by the Sieverman following. Another ticket was set up by our people later on. Then came the contest before the County Clerk as to who was entitled to the place on the ballot under the S. L. P. name and emblem. The decision of the County Clerk, which was on appeal sustained by the court, hinged on this point: Inasmuch as Section Rochester had not been suspended at the time it made the nominations, these nominations were regular S. L. P. nominations, and were entitled to a place in the S. L. P. column. This was a virtual recognition of the Party, and a throw-down for the Kangaroos, in keeping with decisions of the Secretary of State and the Supreme Court in New York City, but it nevertheless put the Kangaroo ticket on the ballot to be voted for at that election, and that only, and it kept our own people off. Had we not been engaged in so many difficulties, we would have contested that decision in the higher courts; but, since it cleared the path for this year, and since nothing more could be done before election anyhow, the matter had to be let go.

In Buffalo there was no Kangaroosm worth mention, and the section there could easily deal with some refractory individuals.

New York has now thirty-one sections, of which a few, about five, are rather small and weak, but the rest are in good condition.

OHIO.

Ohio has sixteen sections. Comparatively speaking, it has been well plowed, yet has not been as responsive as might be wished. Almost every speaker of note in the Party who has ever been sent out on tours has toured Ohio, an efficient State Committee has had charge, but the Party vote in the State has remained below reasonable expectations,

despite the high industrial development obtaining. There is plenty of unrest, as is shown by such occurrences as the vote for "Toledo Jones" last election, but not much of it has come our way. It will, some day not far off. The coal region has been strenuously worked so far as means permitted, but it has been impossible to maintain much of an organization among the miners, much for the same reasons as have been set forth in previous reports.

Kangarooism there is none that we know of, outside of the city of Cleveland, and it is declining there. There was a little uneasiness in some places, notably at Canton, but it was gotten over. Cincinnati can be reported nearly in the same way it was reported four years ago; that is, as having just emerged from a series of internal troubles. Last year the section was in the same predicament. Rival saloon interests seemed to rend it to pieces, and the N. E. C. finally suspended the section. Comrade John R. Root, of Pittsburg, Pa., was sent there to reorganize. This was shortly before the *Volkszeitung's* coup, and the element that had been pushed out joined the Kangs.

At Cleveland the trouble started with the pure and simple element that Hayes and Bandlow had brought into the section. In so far as it affected the status of the N. E. C., it has been treated in that part of this report. All that now remains to be said is to describe the manner in which these gentlemen went about it.

A member of the Board of Appeals, K. Ibsen, already mentioned, had written a letter to Comrade Vogt, then editor of the *Vorwaerts*, giving some very interesting details of the workings of the Board, which explained a great deal as to how some of the decisions of that body had been arrived at, and stating that "if the present course (of the Party) be continued, results would not be good, because Hayes, Bandlow, Cowen, *et al.*, were fast friends of Debs, and for them the step over to that side would not be so hard as for 'us' Germans." Subsequent events have shown that the "us" Germans of Mr. Ibsen's stamp did not find that step so very hard; at least they did not show it, but stepped over with much agility and more persistency, even after they had been plainly told that "that side" did not want them at all.

The publication of this letter, the decided stand the N. E. C. took against the arrogant assumptions of the Board, had spurred this element to action, and when the signal came from New York, the Cleveland Kangs were ready. The first step was to have the Board endorse the New York Slob Committee. Then a joint section meeting was held on July 27 to hear the report of a committee appointed to investigate the Board of Appeals and the Ibsen letter, which had been referred to the section by the N. E. C., together with a demand to look into the work of the Board. The conspirators packed this meeting, refused to hear the report of the aforesaid committee, and used the occasion to endorse the endorsers; all this at a meeting called for a specific purpose. They had things well prepared. Franz Seubert, a Brooklyn cigarmaker, a member of the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association and of its Board of Directors, and J. Mahlon Barnes, a Philadelphia cigarmaker, were present to help the good work along. According to reports received from Cleveland at that time, the Hayes and Bandlow combination had worked for some time to fill up the section with their adherents, and

these, to swell the membership more rapidly, fell back upon their relations. Thus the uncles, aunts, cousins of various degrees, brothers, sisters and what not of the conspirators, became members of Section Cleveland. They were all at that joint meeting, and had it pretty much their own way. The Board was endorsed; the Kangaroos were recognized, and the State Committee was ordered to get the sections of the State in line. What the State Committee did do, and how the Cleveland Kangaroos were floored, not only in the State, but in the very city of Cleveland, when a general vote was taken, has already been explained.

The N. E. C. took prompt action. Section Cleveland was suspended; Providence appointed temporary seat of the Board of Appeals; a call for a general vote was issued to the Party, submitting the question: "Shall the action of the N. E. C. be approved or disapproved?" and nominations for a permanent seat of the Board of Appeals were called for.

The conspirators little knew how they were playing into our hands. We had for some time felt that the best way to clear the atmosphere would be to give the Party a chance to stand up and count itself in a general vote. The vote on severing connections with the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association had just been concluded, and had resulted overwhelmingly in favor of severance, but that question had been submitted at the end of May, and many sections, if not most, had voted before July 10. What was needed was a general vote directly on the issue before the Party, the conspiracy that sought to destroy it, and the way the N. E. C. had dealt with that conspiracy. A good reason for calling for such a vote we could not shake out of our sleeves; it had to grow out of the situation. The Kangaroos were kind enough, and, from the viewpoint of their interests, stupid enough, to shape the situation so as to give the Party the chance.

That vote settled the case, and all was plain sailing after it had been taken and counted. Two questions were submitted. The first, asking approval for the action of the N. E. C. in suspending Cleveland, appointing Providence, as aforesaid, and calling for nominations for a permanent seat of the Board of Appeals. The second, calling for endorsement of the general course of the N. E. C. since it had taken hold of the Party management, and its particular course against the *Volkszeitung's* conspiracy. Question No. 1 carried with 2,742 votes against 119, and Question No. 2 with 2,750 votes against 94. The final result of the battle had never been in doubt, but this vote gave additional strength to the N. E. C. Its rear was secure, and it could keep up a withering fire on the enemy in front, who were now on the run. The call for the general vote had also put the Party on the alert as to the treachery that was brewing in Chicago, and thus rendered harmless whatever moves the freaks in that city might thereafter make.

PENNSYLVANIA.

This State has forty-nine sections, the largest number of any, but many of these are located in small mining towns, and have a small membership. It can be said that ever since the State Committee was taken from Philadelphia and placed in charge of Pittsburgh, the organization improved several hundred per cent. Pennsylvania, with its enormous

industrial development, is the State where the S. L. P. is bound to make rapid strides in the near future. The State Committee is efficient and is doing all that can reasonably be expected. It proved loyal to the core when the Kangaroos, under the leadership of Mr. Barnes, tried to seize the Party, and it met their every move, including the attempt to set up a fraudulent State ticket, practically confining Kangarooism to the city of Philadelphia. Mr. Barnes met with poor success in his own State. He managed to rope in for a short time a small section located at Bethlehem, but soon lost his hold when loyal comrades from Allentown got after him, and straightened that section. He also managed to add to what confusion already existed in a small section at Reading, where a few Sunday-school and *Appeal to Reason* men held sway; but the N. E. C. took a hand, suspended and reorganized that section, and "all was quiet on the Potomac."

Philadelphia, to which Mr. Barnes is now confined, had a party movement that could be likened to what existed in New York during the middle of the eighties, minus the life New York had, after all. Philadelphia was dull and dead. It had quite a membership, mostly German; it had a *Volkszeitung* in its *Tageblatt*, and it had the usual Kangaroo appendage of singing, benefit and cremation societies.

It was a world unto itself—staid, sedate, moss-grown, "philosophical," and, on election day, it polled about two votes for every one of its members.

It also had J. Mahlon Barnes, Secretary of an International Cigarmakers' local union, a cold-blooded, crafty villian, a man without scruples of any sort, and with all the attributes that will some day, if he does not meet with some misfortune on the way, land him in the front ranks of the labor crooks in this country. What James F. Carey is to Haverhill, J. Mahlon Barnes is to Philadelphia. With the mask of impartiality on his face, and with treason in his heart, he came to New York, accompanied by two of his pals, and by Sam Clarke, who was sadly out of place, ostensibly to "investigate," in point of fact to perfect his plot with the Kangaroos. Barnes was a professed new trade unionist in one corner of his mouth, and a pure and simpler in the other; an aspirant for a well-paid job in the International Union, which he knew the pure and simplers would not give him, and which he hoped to get through the "progressive element." During the Seidenberg controversy he wrote letters to this office, ridiculing the absurd stand taken by Union No. 90, and later on he declaimed loud and long against the Alliance and its methods. He never tired to find fault why the "progressives" in the New York cigarmakers' unions did not come together and control all the label jobs that were to be had.

Barnes went back to Philadelphia after his "investigating" visit to New York, and then sprung his mine. We have before this pointed out how the Kangaroo plot was elaborately schemed, but clumsily executed, and we shall now point out what we mean when we say so.

Barnes got Philadelphia to take this stand: Neither the Kangaroos nor the real N. E. C. to be recognized; the management of the Party's national affairs to be placed in charge of the Cleveland Board of Appeals. This was not a bad move for the Kangaroos, and had they all been made to move along that line, they surely would have created

more confusion than they did. Already the Board was, in a way, discredited, but it stood not before the Party in the bad light the *Volkszeitung* did with its committee. To the superficial, the Board was "impartial," an outside factor not implicated in the midnight attempt against the Party. The Board had not yet come out into the open as it stupidly did on July 28, two days after the Philadelphia meeting. Thus far it was a crafty move, calculated to take in the unwary, for the Board was "safe" for the plotters. But then Mr. Barnes made a mistake that led to his undoing. To his large and comprehensive scheme he tacked a peanut measure, and got the section to gulp that down, too; namely, to demand from the Pennsylvania State Committee that it get no more due stamps from the N. E. C., but issue stamps of its own to collect dues. This demand for so flagrant a violation of the constitution put the conspirators where we wanted them, and furnished sufficient grounds for the N. E. C. to take Mr. Barnes and his section and land them on the outside. The section was promptly suspended and reorganized. The new section is getting along well enough, and has grown right along.

When election drew near, Mr. Barnes, who had himself elected secretary of what he was pleased to call the Pennsylvania State Committee of the S. L. P., filed a nominating petition with a spurious State ticket at Harrisburg. It was contested. Proof was furnished that he collected signatures in a fraudulent manner, on blanks not giving any candidates, and that he had placed on the petition the names of men who had never signed. His ticket was thrown out.

This shows the extent of Kangaroolism in the State of Pennsylvania.

RHODE ISLAND.

Kangaroolism and Rhode Island are terms that exclude one another. The six sections in this little State, backed by a good solid Alliance movement as a reserve, were never affected with this disease. Whatever individual crookedness cropped up could be and was easily dealt with. There is not much to report about Rhode Island except that it is all right and in good shape. The Alliance organization in the State was tested by the Slatersville strike, and stood the test well, furnishing an opportunity for a splendid demonstration of class-conscious solidarity all over the country.

TEXAS.

Texas has three sections, and seems to have lost somewhat in point of organization since Comrade Keinard went through the State, but what there is of it is sound and firm. The work in the State is in the hands of capable, level-headed men, who will do all the situation permits. No Kangaroo disturbed matters in Texas.

UTAH.

Utah has one section at Salt Lake City, which was formed by Comrade Hickey shortly after the *coup* of July 10. The section was thereafter besieged by the Kangs, and did not seem to know where it was at for a while, but Comrade Hickey passed there again on his way back and put things in shape.

The section recently went into the Congressional election to fill the

vacancy caused by the unseating of Roberts, and polled the considerable vote of 627 for its candidate.

VERMONT.

Vermont has four sections. There is not much to be said about the State, for our sections are, as yet, in no position to cut much of a figure, and they are not very active, either. The impression at this office is that more could be accomplished if the membership would display a little more energy and push the agitation. Kangaroolism there is none that we are aware of.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia has three sections. The organization is holding its own, but is not making any headway, due to adverse conditions. The State Committee, ever since being located in Richmond, has been efficiently managed by capable men who are as clear as a bell upon the position of the S. L. P. We are convinced that they have done what was possible under the circumstances they had to deal with. No Kangaroo in the State.

WASHINGTON.

Washington has six sections, and for the size of its organization is as clear, as active, as much in the thick of the fight as any State in the Union. From the very outset the State has been in proper hands, and there was not even standing room given to either muddle-head or traitor. The State Committee at Seattle is well managed, and has conducted the affairs of the Party with clearness, firmness and tact. Thus, whatever we do have in Washington, is all worth having and keeping. No Kongs.

WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin has five sections. Milwaukee is the largest and leading one. We have no Kangaroolism in the section worth mention, and this was due to the fact that some years ago there had been a division in the section, which took out of it the very element that would have surely lined up against the Party. As it happened, Mr. E. V. Debs got them long ago, via Mr. V. Berger.

PUERTO RICO.

Before we conclude this chapter of the report, a few words may be said about Puerto Rico. In August, 1899, *The People* received from San Juan, through a man named Santiago Iglesias, with whom we had been in communication before, the news that, upon receipt of literature and organizing material, sent by the National Secretary, Socialist Labor organizations at San Juan had decided to attach themselves to the S. L. P. of the United States. Three sections had been formed, and application for admission was made. The application was granted, and the sections were admitted. That ended it, for never a report could be gotten from any one of them, though report blanks and letters were sent. We had about made up our mind to let them slide, assuming that either the sections had ceased to exist or had a constitutional aversion against paying dues, when it was announced that Iglesias and another man from Puerto Rico had arrived in New York for the purpose of attending the Kangaroo Convention at Rochester; that both had been delayed and arrived after adjournment, etc. If Iglesias was in New York, he never went near the office of the N. E. C., S. L. P.,

nor the office of *The People*, the official organ of that same S. L. P. This much we desire to say on this matter for future reference.

THE PARTY PRESS.

There are at present five papers that can be classed as organs of the Party, two of them under direct control of the National Executive Committee—*The People* and the *Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*—the latter the German organ; the other three also under control of the N. E. C., but the property vested in a publishing association. These latter are: the daily Jewish *Abendblatt*, and the weeklies *Arbetaren* (Swedish), and *Il Proletario* (Italian). A Bohemian paper existed until recently—*Pravda*—but it temporarily suspended a short time ago. Besides these, there appears in Cleveland a German weekly, the Cleveland *Volksfreund*, which, though not a declared Party organ, is in the hands of our people, and is an S. L. P. paper. In addition to these, the Missouri State Committee issues a small publication in leaflet size under the title of the *Arm and Hammer*, chiefly to circulate select articles from *The People*.

Other periodical publications, issued directly by the N. E. C., are the *Labor Library* and the *People Library*, both monthlies.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE.

The People, always the center of the storm, has, during these last eighteen months or so, had a much more exhilarating time of it. It is a very good Socialist paper, yet some professed Socialists profess not to like it. The Kangaroos, however, liked it so well that they tried to get it, and when they could not, rather than do without, they got up an imitation, which does not compare well with the original, but has to do.

We have already pointed out how the circulation stands, and what sort of work the paper has done for the Party, and we shall now give an account of its trials.

The Volkszeitung Publishing Association, when its attempt to bag the S. L. P. and destroy its English organ had failed, started an action against the members of the N. E. C. and against the National Secretary "for a permanent injunction to restrain them from editing, publishing, and circulating the newspaper called *The People*." This action was brought against them, not as officers of the S. L. P., so that the Party be enjoined through its officers, but as individuals who "did not represent the Party, though they claimed to do so." The *Volkszeitung* contended that it was the S. L. P., and it could not, on that theory, ask for an injunction against itself. Pending the trial of the motion for a permanent injunction, they asked for a temporary injunction, and, although an unusual proceeding in a case of this sort, it was granted them by Judge Fitzgerald of the Supreme Court. Some of the circumstances under which it was granted have been set forth in *The People*, and it is not within the scope of this report to enter upon that phase of the case. The original action for a permanent injunction has never been tried, and all that has happened since has flown from that temporary injunction. The *Volkszeitung*, of course, was not anxious to try the case after it had the temporary injunction, and considered it a club and a means to bleed

the S. L. P. When the temporary injunction had been obtained, the members of the N. E. C. who, as individuals, certainly had no power to stop the publication of *The People*, and who would have been severely dealt with by the Party membership in New York had they attempted any thing of the kind, concluded that the theory of an injunction was that one is to abstain from doing certain things which the court decrees he shall not do, and did abstain as a body to take any action bearing upon or having to do with the publication of *The People*. There was no sense in putting themselves in a position where they would be culpable, and, since the Socialist Labor Party had not been enjoined, other members of the Party, who were not a party to the action, stepped in and did the work, and *The People* continued to appear.

The *Volkszeitung's* corporation then brought an action, asking the court to punish the members of the N. E. C. for alleged contempt of court. The hearing on this motion was had before Judge Truax, who reserved his decision for about four months, and then decided in favor of the motion, fining each one of the defendants \$250, or imprisonment until the fine was paid. The fine was an indemnity, and would go to the *Volkszeitung*. Four of the defendants in the original case were affected by this decision; namely, Sanial, Murphy, Kinneally, and Kuhn. Brown and Keep had not been served with the papers in the case. The case was brought up again for a re-hearing before Judge Bischoff, and was again decided against us. This time the court seemed to hold that not only were the men enjoined from doing certain things, but the injunction order also implied that they must do certain other things. It was held that they had not exercised their authority, seeing that the constitution of the Party gave them control over the contents of the Party organs. To abstain from exercising that control, and explain this neglect of duty to their constituents was not enough; they must act, and try to destroy a property that did not belong to them.

To the lay mind, not versed in the intricacies of the law, it would also seem a trifle inconsistent to base a decision against the defendants upon what the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party imposes as a duty upon its National Executive Committee, when the papers in the original action, upon which the temporary injunction was based, and which is its source, distinctly claimed that the defendants were not the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. Nor would the lay mind readily comprehend how, under this construction, the National Secretary of the S. L. P. could be found guilty, and thus be held responsible for the action, or rather the non-action, of a body in which he has no vote and in which he cannot even make a motion. It would appear to the lay mind that as well might the court order him to make the Board of Aldermen do certain things, or make the court itself do certain things, or, for that matter, make the Emperor of China do certain things, and failing to so impress either the Board of Aldermen, the court, or the Emperor of China, as to make them move as directed by the order of the court, to adjudge him guilty of contempt, fine him, and clap him in jail if he has no money. The case was appealed to the Appellate Division of the

Supreme Court, and was there decided against us a few days ago. For reasons too long to explain, a case of this sort cannot be carried to the Court of Appeals, and the only thing now left would be a *habeas corpus* proceeding in case of arrest. Thus, as it stands to-day, we ought to be in jail, theoretically, but are not, in point of fact. It may be the *Volkszeitung* thinks it can use this as a club to hold over our heads, which would be silly on its part; and it may be also that, since that prostitute sheet is just now going into hysterics about an injunction against pure and simple cigarmakers, it does not care to enforce, at this juncture, an injunction obtained by it against members of the S. L. P., fearing that the public feeling might be jarred by what would look a bit incompatible. It may be, also, that they know the injunction is void, having been signed outside of the State, and prefer not to run risks. Be that as it may, and let us turn to what was done when the court arrived at the decisions above referred to—the decision of Judge Bischoff. When this construction was placed upon the temporary injunction order, and when proceedings were started against the editor of *The People* and its former manager on the theory that they were the agents of the enjoined principal, the enjoined members of the N. E. C., not desiring to be used as a means to injure the Party, made up their minds to resign as members of the N. E. C., and they did so. The National Secretary also offered his resignation, which was not accepted, for the reason that his status is so utterly different from that of the rest as to almost make it desirable to have the *Volkszeitung* move against him. Under the law, the complainant in such a case, who has set all the machinery of the court in motion, is liable for damages if, on appeal, a decision is reversed; and since there are more ways than one to get the case before the Court of Appeals in some shape or form, away from the Tammany atmosphere, so favorable to the Kangaroos, the chances of a damage suit are very promising under the very decision rendered.

Thus the case stands, as well as it can be described by the pen of men who are not lawyers, and who cannot follow, let alone describe, all the tortuous windings and involved complications of legal procedure.

A new N. E. C. has been elected, and it will try to do as well on the firing line as did the fighting N. E. C. of 1899.

THE DAILY PEOPLE.

We cannot leave the subject of *The People* without touching upon its offspring, about to be born.

It has often been said since the stirring days that followed July 10 that if the break had not come, and the Kangaroos were still with us, we would not have a *Daily People* for years to come; and this is absolutely true. With them, our strength and our energy were absorbed by the constant struggle; without them, the virility of the Party quickly asserted itself, the interminable wrangle about tactics ceased, the Party was a unit, moved as unit, and, lo and behold, in less than a year's time the Party is ready to launch its first-class battle-ship, the *Daily People*.

What a *Daily People* can and will do for the movement belongs to the future, and is not within the scope of this report, which has to simply record what has become Party history.

The fund for the daily swelled rapidly after the fight was over, the election past, and the Party secure. It is now nearing the \$11,000 mark. Of course, not all of this is at hand, for, aside from what has already been spent in setting up the plant for the daily, \$1,100 are tied up in litigation with the *Volkszeitung*, and \$1,600 have been spent to make possible the reduction of the subscription price of *The People* to 50 cents per year, as per agreement with the subscribers to the Daily People Major Fund, who had given what they did give conditionally, and a sufficient number of whom had agreed to have their money go for that purpose.

A perfecting press, a stereotyping apparatus, and two Mergenthaler Linotype machines are already on the premises, and matters are rapidly being pushed to get in shape for July 1, when the first issue is to appear.

THE SOCIALISTISCHE ARBEITER ZEITUNG.

When the *Volkszeitung's* corporation had robbed the Party of its German organ, the *Vorwaerts*, it was felt that we must have a German paper as a weapon against the traitors. Not to have such a weapon would mean that the greatest portion of the German comrades, who stood by the Party, would be made dependent upon the *Volkszeitung* as their only source of information, and how unclean that source has been and is to-day, no one knows better than the German Socialists who have followed its campaign of lies and slander, its "Socialists don't vote" escapade, and its various other evolutions.

Accordingly, when a chance presented itself to use the *Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung*, which had come under practical control of our section of that city, we availed ourselves of that chance. Time proved, however, that our Buffalo comrades could not hold their own against the trickery of the pure and simple opposition in the association that owned the paper, and when at a snap meeting a hostile Board of Directors was chosen and a new editor elected, arrangements were made in time with the association that publishes the Cleveland *Volksfreund* to publish for the Party its German organ. This arrangement implied the starting of a new paper under the aforesaid title, for which the Post Office permit was obtained by the Party itself through its National Secretary; the property in the title and the subscription list was also secured to the Party, and copies of the latter must be sent to headquarters at regular intervals. The association simply acts as the printer and business manager, and is compensated for its labor and expenditure by the money received for subscriptions and advertisements, and can use the composition over again for its own paper, the local Cleveland *Volksfreund*.

THE JEWISH ABENDBLATT.

This paper, when the 10th of July came along, was under the editorial management, and the business management, for that matter, of a set of Kangaroos, the former including the unspeakable Feigenbaum. He and another man, who was also working on the paper,

had been at the Bowery meeting on July 10, had helped to "depose," and were promptly bounced next day by the Board of Directors. The editor-in-chief, Mr. Philip Krantz, also a Kangaroo, was discharged afterwards, and the business manager resigned. A makeshift arrangement first entered into proved very unsatisfactory, and Comrade Simpson was finally prevailed upon to take charge, and under his management the paper, for the first time in its history, has been unequivocally a Socialist Labor Party paper in the true sense of the term. Ably conducted, clear, utterly impervious to the deviating influences that have hitherto been a feature of the publication, a paper that dealt with and made its readers acquainted with conditions prevailing in this country from an S. L. P. point of view.

The Kangaros tried hard to capture the paper through the Publishing Association, but failed, and were put out. They then started a suit which never came off for trial, and then started a rival daily paper, fitly called the *Volkszeitung*. After sinking some 5,000 Kangaroo dollars, scraped together in various painful ways, the sheet curled up and died. Galvanized back into seeming life, it made people believe it lived a while longer, and then vanished for good. Feigenbaum was its editor.

The *Abendblatt* had lost a little in circulation while the Kangaroo paper existed, but quickly recovered, and is now in good condition.

The *Arbetaren*, the Swedish Party organ, is published by an association composed of members of the Scandinavian Section, New York, and has existed for a number of years, getting along fairly well and doing good work. It is now located in the Daily People Building. The sections of the Party located where there is a Swedish population can do much to extend its usefulness by distributing sample copies, getting subscribers, and sending to the paper selected addresses of Swedes interested in the movement, with whom the paper should be in touch. And what is said here applies as well to the preceding papers and to the following, the Italian.

IL PROLETARIO.

This paper was first published in Pittsburg, Pa., by a number of Italian Socialists organized in Propaganda Clubs not connected with the Party. It had to be suspended after a short existence, was resurrected in New York, went to Paterson, N. J., and back again to New York, when Dr. Dino Rondani came to America to take charge of the paper. Neither *Il Proletario* nor the *Arbetaren* had any Kangaroo experience worth mention.

In conclusion it may be said that a French paper—*Le Bourdon*—was, for a short time, published at Jeannette, Pa., but it could not be maintained and suspended. Its outfit was turned over to *Il Proletario*.

THE SOCIALIST ALMANAC.

Closely connected with the subject of the Party press is another publication which the N. E. C. published in obedience to the orders of the '96 convention—The Socialist Almanac. It was prepared by Comrade Lucien Sanial, is an extremely valuable book, a veritable mine of facts and figures, and was printed in an edition of 5,000.

Every effort was made to push out this edition, get back the cash out-

lay, and be ready to continue the publication as was contemplated by the convention, but it was shown that the movement was not yet strong enough to readily absorb a 5,000 edition of such a book; the expense had been heavy, and it was impossible to continue. It may be stated that the *Volkszeitung* had in its possession several hundred copies, sold to the corporation at the time of publication, and not all paid for. Suit was brought to recover what was due, and the *Volkszeitung*, though at first trying to dodge behind the claim that there were two parties claiming to be the S. L. P. and it did not know to which of the two the account was due, found it wise to settle, and disgorged what it owed in cash and returned copies.

It may also be stated that we do not think it advisable for a convention to saddle upon the N. E. C. an obligation involving so heavy an expenditure as to cripple its legitimate work, but rather to turn a matter of that sort over to the Labor News Company, not as a peremptory order, but with the understanding that such a publication be taken in hand if, from a business point of view, it is thought possible. The N. E. C. should have its hands free for other work.

THE LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

This institution of the Party is now located in the Daily People Building and is in a thriving condition. For a long time it was located on the top floor of 64 East Fourth street and there was not much life in it. Later we struck out and rented a store in East Twenty-third street after which there was more growth, and still later we secured a more efficient manager in the person of Comrade Julian Pierce. That move to Twenty-third street was fortunate in another respect, for had the Labor News Company remained in 64 East Fourth street, the Kangaroos would have taken possession, and we would have been compelled to go to court and recover the valuable stock through a costly proceeding and, incidentally, be saddled with the Labor Lyceum over again.

The Kangaroos felt sad about it, too, and Mr. Slob, in his report to the Rochester pow-wow, made mention of the fact that the Labor News Company had remained in the hands of "the deposed officers;" that after various convolutions they had started the "Socialist Literature Company," and he called upon the Kangaroos, big and little, to rise and give their undivided support to what he styled the "Infant Industry" of his party. From this we could infer that the Infant Literature Company is sadly in need of protection.

Since the management of the Labor News Company will render to the convention a separate report, there is no need of going into details.

Another instruction of the '96 convention was to prepare a Municipal Programme, in order to give the sections a guide, as it were, in preparing their local platforms. This programme was issued in 1897. The application card also ordered by the convention, has been issued, and seems to have met with approval.

Last year when the Preliminary Conference that was to make arrangements for the Paris International Congress of 1900, met at Brussels, we had an opportunity to be represented at a trifling cost by Comrade Max Forker, who went to Europe at that time. As is customary, the N. E. C. called in due time for nominations for a delegate

to represent the Party at the International Congress, and of the two comrades who accepted the nomination, M. Ruther and L. Sanial, the latter has been elected. An assessment of fifteen cents had to be levied to cover the expenses, and \$119.30 have thus far been received. The Congress is to take place during the latter half of September and the delegate must start shortly after September 1. The State Committees and sections should therefore push the collection of the assessment and take care to return all unsold assessment stamps so as to make possible the balancing of each account.

The agitation of the Party, during these last four years, while the N. E. C. had its hands free, has been pushed with the utmost vigor, and it is due to this in no small measure that the Party has braved the storm so well.

We reached as far south as Texas, where Comrade Keinard was sent, as far north as Lake Superior, which region was traversed by Comrade Carless, and as far west as the shores of the Pacific, whence Comrade Hickey carried the Party's work; but the chief attention was, of course, bestowed upon the more industrial States of the East and the Middle West.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE N. E. C.

Having been entrusted with the Party's management and thus placed in a position to gather valuable information as to the structure of our organization, to observe how the wheels work and to compare one thing with another, we deem it our duty to embody the essence of our experience in a few recommendations to be considered by the convention.

In regard to the constitution of the Party, we hold:

1. That the N. E. C. be forbidden to issue more than one charter for any one city or town.

Reason: The old system of having several sections, all on the same level, in one place is obsolete. Our organization should so develop as to have the sections that grow fast sub-divided, the unit of organization to control the entire city or town. Organization along the line of Wards or Assembly Districts then follows as a natural result. There is no need of making the rule retroactive, because what little is left of the old system will disappear in time by itself.

2. That a separate article be inserted in the constitution under the head of "City Central or County Committees," giving an outline of how such committees must be formed and what their functions shall be.

Reason: The Party organization has grown along the line of concentration in all the large cities. The time has passed when the sections in such cities could meet in a general meeting and transact their business. The cities are growing in area and population and the membership scattered over a wide territory cannot be brought together successfully in a general meeting, at least not in ordinary times. This compels sub-division, and compels also a delegate body to govern the section as a whole. A few rules, not too detailed, and flexible enough to meet varying local conditions, yet precise enough to serve as a foundation for the construction of local by-laws, are needed.

3. That Section 18 of Article II be so amended as to make it imperative upon any section to at once proceed against any member, who,

as a candidate of the S. L. P., either accepts an endorsement by any other political party, or allows an unsolicited endorsement of his candidacy by another political party to stand without protest.

Reason: Self-evident.

4. That Sections 4 and 5 of Article III be stricken out and replaced by a section that will permit each State to organize its State Committee in accordance with the election laws of the State, but compels each State that has a State Committee to adopt a set of by-laws, which by-laws must be approved by the National Executive Committee before they become operative.

Reason: As the Party vote grows, we come, in many States, after having cast a certain percentage of the vote, under the operation of State Primary or Caucus Acts. As soon as we do, we are forced to adapt or form of organization to such laws as these acts contain. The National Party Constitution should not then be an instrument that must, by force of circumstances, be violated. That no State organization will be permitted to adopt rules in violation of the Party's platform goes without saying, but that can be separately covered if desired.

5. The National Executive Committee to be elected by the National Convention from members of the section or sections located at the seat of the N. E. C. for the term intervening between two conventions, the choice of the convention to be approved by general vote of the whole Party. Vacancies to be filled as follows: For every vacancy, the sections or sections at the seat of the committee shall nominate two candidates, such nominations then to be submitted to general vote of the whole Party. Every candidate to sign a pledge before his name is submitted that he will stand by the Party and its principles, and faithfully carry out its tactics and declared resolutions, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary. Removal of an incapable or unreliable N. E. C., or any one member thereof, to be accomplished by general vote on the motion of either a given number of State Committees, or a given number of sections, large enough to prevent trifling with so important a matter for the possible gratification of petty spite, yet small enough to make possible action in this direction without too much loss of time. Charges must be presented, and may be answered by the N. E. C. or the member so charged. The vote to be returned to, canvassed and announced by a State Committee not engaged as one of the movers and selected by the section or sections located at the seat of the N. E. C., from a State other than their own. In case of an emergency, such as the sudden resignation of the whole or of the majority of the committee, the section or sections at the seat of the N. E. C. shall temporarily fill the vacancies through their General Committee and then proceed in regular form to a general vote.

Reason: In making this proposition we are well aware of the various plans that are floating around, either to distribute the N. E. C. all over the country, or to have it composed of the paid agitators of the Party who are to converge at given intervals at a given place, and there transact the business of the organization. Not a single plan of that

sort that has come to our notice is worth the paper it is written on for practical purposes, and all of them utterly disregard the financial and other conditions under which the Party is forced to work. No need of meeting here every argument advanced in behalf of these various plans, and suffice to say that, in our opinion, that body would be the N. E. C. *de facto* which could most readily meet in short intervals without cost to the Party and attend to its business, no matter what that body might be called. All else is moonshine.

6. The National Secretary to be elected by the Convention in the same manner as the N. E. C.; vacancy and removal to be treated by the same method; but his office to be more outspokenly separated from the N. E. C. It is true he has no vote now and cannot make motions, but he is, somewhat inconsistently, designated as a member.

Reason: The Party is not now out of trouble, and is apt to get into trouble again as the political waves of the S. L. P. movement rise higher. The work of the National Secretary is such as to make it the breath in the nostrils of the Party organization in its national scope, and it dovetails, in many ways with the work in the States and the sections. That arm must be kept free, should the N. E. C. get tangled up in some difficulty or other.

7. That the National Board of Appeals be abolished, and the settlement of local petty grievances be entirely taken out of the national Party organization. The State Committees to adjudicate the grievances of individual members on appeal from the decisions of their sections, and the general vote of the sections in the State to finally dispose of them if appealed to. The N. E. C. to act in the same capacity only in regard to States that have no State Committee, the decision of the N. E. C. to be final in the case of an individual grievance.

Grievances of sections to be adjudicated by their respective State Committees, and, on appeal, by the N. E. C. From the decision of the latter appeal may be had to the general vote or the National Convention.

Reason: The Kangaroo idea of organization is a system of checks and counter-checks, a hedging in all around, so that, when the Party gets into troubled waters, it is apt to flounder about like a rudderless ship, unless the men at the helm be exceedingly firm. The original idea when that body was created, was to supervise, and, if need be, check the N. E. C., and it was then called the "Board of Supervision." As the Party developed, the N. E. C. became more important, and overshadowed the checking body. This found its unconscious expression in the change of name, for after the '93 convention it was called the "Board of Grievances." The '96 convention then adopted the present name. The experience with the Boston body was bad, that with the Cleveland body was worse. It seemed to offer special attractions for secret enemies of the Party to get into it, which was due to the fact that it had only occasional functions, was considered unimportant, and elections to that body were not watched. The '96 convention sat down heavily upon the Boston body; the 1900 convention would have had occasion to handle the Cleveland outfit in the same manner had they not been put out before the convention took place. We favor the abolition

of the body as useless in ordinary times, and as dangerous in time of trouble. The best check imaginable is a class-conscious membership, that will, in the long run, keep in line any committee and any set of officers.

8. That the basis of representation to the National Convention be changed as follows:

a. The State to be the basis of representation. Each State to be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in such State at the State election preceding the National Convention, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction thereof. All States that have one or more sections, but poll less than one thousand S. L. P. votes, or poll no vote at all, shall be entitled to one delegate. A territory to be treated as a State.

Delegates must be members in good standing of a section in the State they represent, and each delegate shall have only one vote.

b. The National Executive Committee shall issue the call for nominations for the place of the convention in the month of January in the convention year, and the State Committee, in transmitting such call to the sections, shall call for nominations of delegates to the National Convention, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the sections of the State, with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for. In States that have no State Committee, the N. E. C. to take over this function.

c. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States sending them, but the national organization shall, during the four years intervening between conventions, raise a mileage fund by collecting on every due stamp sold two cents per member and per month. Said fund shall be in charge of the National Executive Committee, and shall only be applied for paying to each State a *pro rata* share of the railroad fare of its delegation.

Reason: The basis of representation by Congressional Districts is not satisfactory. It compels sections to co-operate in jointly electing and jointly bearing expenses for delegates that are not in the habit to work together for such a purpose, and, therefore, does not fit in the form of organization. With the State Committee this objection falls. Moreover, while representation is left to sections, we shall have unequal effort, and, while some will almost go beyond their strength, others will not move a finger, and escape all expenses. But, with representation by States, the burden is equally distributed over the membership of the State, and, what is more, the entire membership is represented, whether it happens to be located in a small and financially weak section, or in a large and well-to-do one. This system will also give the National Convention the best there is in each State in point of ability and understanding of the movement.

We have at present over 85,000 votes in the United States, and this, with major fractions of one thousand votes here and there, would give us a convention of, say, ninety, if all came, which is never likely. But by the time we shall have another convention, our vote will be much higher, and representation larger, since each State is likely to send its full quota under this system. To meet this, the two-cent mileage tax

will cover at least a good portion of the railroad fare. The only way in which this mileage tax is collectable is to raise the price of each due stamp two cents. We warn strongly against any other method, and we know whereof we speak.

9. That Article VII, Section 2, be so changed as to include the two cents for the mileage fund.

Reason: Obvious.

10. That Article VIII, Sections 2 and 3, be so amended as to provide for the election and for the removal of the editors of the official Party organs in the same manner as the election and removal of the N. E. C. and the National Secretary, retaining the provision that they shall not be members of the N. E. C.

Section 4 to be retained, and the following addition made:

Section 5. The election of editors of other papers recognized as Party organs shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. If an editor of such Party organ prove incompetent or violate the platform or constitution of the Party, the N. E. C. shall have power to demand from the publishers of such Party organ his immediate removal; failure to comply with such demand to make it imperative upon the N. E. C. to repudiate the paper.

Section 6. No section of the Party shall be permitted to publish a local paper without the permission of the N. E. C., and the latter body shall not grant such permission unless satisfied that there is need for such paper, and that it will not become a burden upon the Party and endanger the existence of the local movement. The election of the editor and his removal to be governed as provided in Section 5. All property of such paper to be vested in the national Party organization, but the national organization shall be under no obligation to cover possible deficits.

Section 7. Any section publishing a paper in violation of these rules shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Reasons: Obvious, and set forth in preceding portions of this report.

11. Strike out Section 3 of "Miscellaneous Regulations," because the matter has been specially provided for so far as the national organization is concerned, and substitute:

Section 3. All officers or committees of the State and local organizations are subject to removal by their constituents upon charges duly made and tried as provided by the Party constitution.

Section 7. "Miscellaneous Regulations" to be so amended as to compel the sections to file the resignations of candidates with their respective State Committees, and have the latter body provide them with blank forms.

Reasons: This section is useless in so far as it will not be a means to oust a traitor from office, but if it is to be retained for the purpose of giving some free advertising to a man who has used the Party as a stepping stone and then gone back on it, we must have his resignation in other hands than his own section. Carey's breach of trust showed this.

12. A section to be inserted in either Article II or Article IV, em-

powering the N. E. C. and imposing upon it the duty of suspending and reorganizing any State Committee or section for treason or for wilful violation of the constitution.

Reasons: This may seem superfluous, because that right and that duty are both implied and it is a well understood principle of organization that the body which bestows membership by grant of charter has also the power to revoke such charter; it is equally obvious, as a general principle, that the N. E. C. has the duty to stamp out treason. But we cannot be too specific. While at present the Party is a unit, and has thoroughly cleansed itself of all indigestible matter, we cannot assume that all will be smooth sailing forever after. In the same measure as the Party grows in strength of organization, in voting strength, and in consequent influence, and in the same measure as advancing capitalist concentration renders the position of the middle class politically hopeless and economically desperate, will that middle class cast covetous eyes upon the Party organization, growing apace with all the snap and vigor of youth, in marked contrast with the puerile efforts of a decaying class. It will try to use that young giant for its own ends, foolishly, for it can't be done except, perhaps, in a small way, locally; but it will try, and then there will be trouble. The S. L. P., forced to form its lines in battle, cannot afford to have its hands tied by what may be styled the "Kangaroo conception of Democracy," which means that you must increase the chances of an enemy to hit you, and diminish your own to strike back. The S. L. P. must have all the striking power against treason in its own ranks on its side, not on the side of the traitors.

We must not reason that, by closely scrutinizing applicants for membership, we shall escape the danger, for that cannot be controlled, since the power to admit is distributed over hundreds of sections all over the country. The only safety lies, on the one hand, in the sharpest enunciation of our position on the proletarian class struggle, which will repel non-designing elements of the middle class, and, on the other hand, in constitutional provisions that will enable us to get rid, in short order, of a designing element that will come in undeterred by any declarations of ours for the purpose of "boring from within."

The Kangaros have found out what it means to attempt the capture of a Party officered by a set of men, cool, judicious, self-reliant, and determined. Had there been weakness and vacillation at headquarters, the utmost firmness, devotion, and high individual calibre of the rank and file could not have prevented confusion. No wonder the Kangas angrily called the N. E. C., somewhat inconsistently, the "National Suspension Committee," though they had declared over and over again that the N. E. C. had been "deposed," had utterly vanished, and was underground, dead and buried; that the Party was breathing freely after having been relieved of the nightmare, and was rejoicing all over the country because of the advent of the Slob Committee, with many other pretty figures of speech of a like character. But their rage, whenever the "National Suspension Committee" took some decisive action, betrayed them, and showed that once more had one of their hopes been dashed to the ground. The Party has had its lesson, and it should

profit by it. We recommend the insertion of such a clause for the aforesaid reasons.

CONCLUSION.

We now close a report already too lengthy. We almost feel that we owe an apology for imposing so long a document upon the convention, but the past years have been so eventful that a full presentation of the Party's history for future use and reference is of unquestionable importance. The Party can now close the pages of what has been, and turn its face toward what will be. As "narrow" and "bigoted" as ever, we turn to the future, and enter upon a broader field of action.

The common foe has grown bolder, and is helping to clear the vision of the working class. Capitalist concentration is growing apace; lines of demarcation are being drawn more sharply than ever; capitalist exploitation has expanded, and has been carried with rifle and cannon to the West Indies and the Philippines, ready to descend upon and expand some more in hoary old China; Hazleton and the Wardner Bull Pen have outdone the crimes the capitalist class ever perpetrated upon the working class before. All is shaping itself as it must.

The Socialist Labor Party stands ready to play its part in the making of future history, fully conscious of its mission as the sole representative of the revolutionary aspirations of the working class, and fully able to cope with its mission—clear, self-reliant, militant—the fighting S. L. P.

Long live the Socialist Labor Party!

EBER FORBES,
MAX FORKEE,
DOW HOSMAN,
WILLIAM H. WHERRY,
JOHN KEVENEY,
JULIAN PIERCE,
JOSEPH H. SAUTER,

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.
HENRY KUHN, *National Secretary.*

The Chairman then read telegrams and greeting from the following organizations: The Daily People Conference, the Young Socialist Propagandists, the Excelsior Literary Society, the Sixteenth Twenty-Sixth, Twenty-Eighth, and Thirtieth Assembly Districts of Section New York; Section Seattle, Wash., and the State Convention of the S. L. P. of Illinois.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

The convention next proceeded to elect the following committees:

Constitution.—Delegates Curran, Lawry, Mathews, Pierce, and Lake.

Platform and Resolutions.—Delegates Sanial, De Leon, Eberle, Dalton, and Hickey.

Attitude of the Party Towards Trades Unionism.—Delegates Kroll, Malloney, Katz, Thomas, and Kretlow.

Appeals and Grievances.—Delegates Borton, Kinneally, McKeown, Marx, and Raasch.

Party Press.—Delegates Keep, Vogt, Brown, Dalton, and Fish.

Auditing Committee.—Delegates Petersen, Rose, Meyer, Luedecke, and Kircher.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Chairman Eberle, of the Committee on Credentials, reported the arrival of Delegate Peter Herriger, of the Ninth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, and recommended that he be seated. So ordered.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

The roll-call of delegates was then read for the introduction of resolutions.

The Chairman stated that it would be well for the chairman of each meeting to act as a committee of distribution of the resolutions as they were read off, and if there were no objection, such course would be pursued. No objection made.

Resolutions were then read from the following organizations and delegates, and referred to the following committees:

One from Section Rochester, two from Section New Haven, one from Delegate Schade, one from Delegate O'Fihelly, one from Delegate Rupp, one from Delegates Sweeny and Zolot of New York, one from Section Detroit. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

One from Section Rochester, one from Section Philadelphia, one from Delegate Simpson. Referred to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

One from Section Rochester, one from Section Philadelphia. Referred to Committee on Party Press.

One from Section Rochester, one from Section Philadelphia, one from Section St. Louis. Referred to the Committee on Attitude Towards Trades Unionism.

One from Delegate O'Fihelly. Referred to Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

Also, a printed copy of the resolutions proposed by sections prior to the convention was referred to each of the committees.

Delegate Keep moved that the convention hold only a morning session on Sunday, on account of the entertainment to be given in honor of the delegates Sunday afternoon and evening. Seconded and carried.

Upon motion, National Secretary Kuhn then read the report of the National Board of Appeals, which thereupon was referred to the Committee on Appeals and Grievances. The report is as follows:

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS.

The National Board of Appeals presents to the convention all papers in the matters that have been passed upon by the Board, together with the minutes of its meetings, both showing the appeals made and the action taken.

From the decision of the Board appeals have been taken to this convention as follows:

In the appeal of Jules Magnette from the action of the County Committee of Section Newark, N. J. [Essex County], S. L. P., suspending him for six months. On the evidence submitted the Board reached the following decision: "It appearing from the evidence submitted by both sides that Comrade Magnette was suspended by the County Committee of Section Essex County, N. J., and not by the vote of the section, as provided by Article II, eighth, ninth and tenth sections of the Constitution of the S. L. P., the proceedings are declared irregular and the suspension removed." The County Committee of Section Essex County, N. J., has appealed from this decision to the convention.

C. Claus, of Malden, Mass., appealed to the Board from the decision of Section Malden, Mass., for rejecting his application for admission as a new member for the reason that he stated that in joining the S. L. P. he did not endorse the S. T. & L. A. The Board voted unanimously to direct the secretary to inform C. Claus that under Article II, Sections 6 and 7 of the Constitution of the S. L. P. the Board had no jurisdiction in the matter. C. Claus claims an appeal to the convention from this decision.

A few other minor appeals came before the Board, particularly from Cincinnati, O., but matters were straightened out there by the parties themselves, requiring no action by the Board.

In the matter of the appeal of Section Los Angeles County, Cal., against the action of the State Executive Committee of California, located at San Francisco, Cal., in refusing to abide by a general vote of the state organization, the substance of the appeal was as follows:

That Section Santa Clara County submitted to the S. E. C. a proposition for the removal of the seat of the S. E. C. from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and that this proposition was referred by the S. E. C. to a general vote of the sections. On the taking of the referendum there was a majority vote in favor of the proposition, there being no votes against it, but some sections failed to participate in the vote. The S. E. C. refused to abide by the result of the vote, claiming that the proposition should have been seconded by another section the same as a motion, and it relied upon this as a justification for ignoring the dictates of the referendum.

While the call of the N. B. of A., as published in *The People* of April 8th last, was on its way through the mails to California, a communication came to the Board from the S. E. C., signed by W. D. Lambert, recording secretary, stating his position in the affair. Its purport was that the meeting of the S. E. C. which passed upon the proposition of Santa Clara County was composed of only four out of the seven members of the S. E. C., and that it was unconstitutional to sub-

mit the proposition to a general vote without a second. The document largely detailed the affairs of Section San Francisco and proceedings in the S. E. C. after the meeting at which the referendum was ordered, all hardly pertinent to the issues involved, except that it admits that the vote as returned was in favor of Los Angeles and that the S. E. C. as a body refused to abide by the result; also that the records of the S. E. C. were turned over to Los Angeles by the secretary, after a motion empowering him to do so had been put and lost.

In order to clarify the evidence and make the issues plain, a series of questions were submitted by mail to Section Los Angeles County and to the S. E. C. at San Francisco. These questions with the answers of Section Los Angeles County were as given below, the S. E. C. declining to make a specific answer to the queries, but sending in a general statement as will be mentioned later.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

First. How many members are there to the S. E. C.?

Answer. Seven.

Second. Did a majority of the members of the S. E. C. who were present vote to submit the proposition of Section Santa Clara to a referendum at a regular meeting or a duly called special meeting of the S. E. C.?

Answer. Extract from minute book of the S. E. C. to the effect that at a meeting on January 11, 1900, the proposition in question was ordered put to a general vote, four out of the seven members being present.

Third. Is there any rule of the S. E. C. or the S. L. P. in California as a state organization requiring a proposition for general vote to be seconded? (Furnish copy of rules, if any.)

Answer. No. (Copy of California State Constitution and By-Laws furnished, showing this to be the case.)

Fourth. Was the vote of the S. E. C. to submit the proposition to a general vote brought before all the state sections in time for them to act on it; if not, what sections were overlooked?

Answer. Yes [to first part of question].

Fifth. Have the members who were absent from the meeting of the S. E. C. that voted to submit the general vote any excuse to offer for their absence other than a mere failure to attend?

Answer. Have no evidence of any.

To the above questions the S. E. C. at San Francisco replied that its communication, previously summed up, stated the exact truth, that it had no further plea to make, and contending for constitutional procedure principally and secondly to thwart [what it called] the dishonorable schemes of certain individuals.

From the evidence obtained by the Board there can be no question that the appeal of Section Los Angeles County was well taken, and that the S. E. C. at San Francisco has no proper justification for its position. There was no rule of the state organization requiring a proposition for general vote to be seconded, there was in fact no specific provision whatever regarding a general vote. It is, however, the implied duty of an executive committee to manage and supervise and conduct the affairs of the organization, that has placed it in office, according to its rules, and in the absence of rules bearing on particular points of management, then in the light of the usages and traditions which the course of the organization has developed. The initiative and referendum are prerequisites for the life and maintenance of a Socialist body. Rules of parliamentary procedure that obtain in deliberative assemblages have no application to the dealings of an executive committee with its constituency unless expressly placed there by the constituency itself. The Board fails utterly to perceive any logic or justice in the claim that the proposition of Section Santa Clara County should have been seconded by another section.

Furthermore, even if the proposition emanated from but one section, even if it had not emanated from any section whatever, it was properly before the sections on the call for a general vote so long as it came from the S. E. C. The right to call general votes on its own in-

initiative is an implied and essential prerogative of an executive Socialist body presiding over a widespread community. This right has always been exercised and gone unquestioned except by former Party members who found in it too potent a weapon for bringing defeat to their secret schemes of using the Party members and organization to secure their own personal exaltation. To deny this right to an executive committee of an organization whose units are scattered wide, as in the case of a national or state organization, would leave it and its constituency impotent in the case of a rapidly rising emergency or sudden peril, a contingency which a militant, revolutionary body such as ours will frequently find in its path through the machinations of the crafty and unscrupulous enemy we have to contend with. Our practice supports the right of initiative in an executive committee to call a general vote, a right which the members of a so-called "Socialist Party" more respectable than the S. L. P. have often waxed wroth against, but one which they have just now found very useful in saving themselves from being absorbed by the friends we have been delivered from.

The questions propounded by the Board were vital. The failure of the S. E. C. to answer them must be taken as a confession of the truth of the answers of Section Los Angeles County. The evidence then shows that all the sections could have voted had they wished. The failure or refusal of any to do so cannot be employed to thwart the will of those who were alert and active on a Party question. For the same reason the absence of three of the seven members from the meeting of the S. E. C. that submitted the call for general vote can have no weight in deciding the appeal. It was their duty to be there, and their failure to be present, when there is no evidence or claim that they were designedly kept away, and where there is a refusal to explain their non-attendance, commits them to a tacit approval of any action taken by the S. E. C. in their absence. To take any other position is a contention that inactivity should be allowed to dominate and overrule activity.

The Board accordingly decides that the call for a general vote on the proposition of Section Santa Clara County for the removal of the seat of the S. E. C. was properly issued; that the vote adopting it declared Los Angeles as the seat; that the vote bound the S. E. C. of San Francisco to turn over all Party property in its possession to Section Los Angeles County and to cease exercising or claiming to exercise the functions of the State Executive Committee of California.

Incidentally the Board declares that the action of Comrade Fred H. Lowe and of those supporting his conduct in turning over the records, etc., to Los Angeles, after the general vote was in, notwithstanding the S. E. C. of San Francisco had negated a motion to that effect, was in strict accord with his obligations under the laws and mandates of the Party. The mere fact that an appeal was contemplated does not extenuate the rejection of such a motion. The failure to pass the motion was, whether or not so intended, a defiance of the Party's command. The Party had spoken in a proper manner, and those feeling aggrieved by its action should have sought adjudication in the way the rules provide, but meanwhile the Party's order should have been obeyed to the letter. Fraternally,

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS,

[Signed by six members.]

The Board has no recommendations to place before the convention by explicit resolutions, but it makes the following suggestions for the consideration of the delegates:

The dastardly action of the former Board of Appeals located at Cleveland in assuming powers of adjudication over matters expressly withheld from it by the constitution, and its barefaced violation of ordinary rules of justice in attempting this adjudication, undoubtedly brought confusion in the minds of some Party members, and this treacherous and knavish conduct it must be admitted enabled the reactionists of July 10 last to gain recruits at the expense of our membership. In

view of this experience we believe the convention should abolish the Board of Appeals as a national organization, leaving to the state committees the power of deciding matters within their territory that do not concern the national body, the National Executive Committee to have charge of all disputes and controversies where the issues affect the Party at large.

Fraternally,

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS,

Thomas Curran, Secretary.

At 6.15 p. m. the convention adjourned till Sunday 9 a. m.

SECOND DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,

Sunday, June 3, 1900.

Convention called to order at 9.30 a. m.,

Kroll elected Chairman, Kinneally Vice-Chairman.

Chairman Eberle of the Committee on Credentials reported the arrival of the following delegates, and recommended that they be seated: Thomas Reilly, Charles Kroll, and James Reid, of Rhode Island; Jacob Alexander, of the Twentieth Congressional District, New York; Albert Schmutz, Louisville, Ky.; Arthur Mende, Seventh Congressional District, New Jersey; and Michael McGarry, of the Eighth Congressional District, New Jersey, and Henry Carless, of the Sixth Congressional District, New Jersey.

Adopted.

The motion was made that the alternate take the place of the delegate in the absence of the latter. Carried by a vote of 42 in favor and 12 against.

A motion was adopted that when alternates take the places of the regular delegates, they shall be provided with badges.

Comrade Kuhn then concluded the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee, which was adopted by a unanimous rising vote, and its recommendations referred to the various committees.

PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS.

Delegate Keinard, who had just returned from abroad, then made an address, delivering the flag sent through him by the Agglomeration Parisienne, Parti Ouvrier Francais, to the Socialist

Labor Party, together with the resolutions of the Agglomeration Parisienne, expressing their fraternal salutation and solidarity of Socialist conceptions and tactics with the comrades of the S. L. P. Delegate Keinard spoke as follows:

Delegate KEINARD. I think we are justified in regarding this convention of the S. L. P. as historic and extraordinary. Not so much for the increase in wisdom it marks, as for the growth in the Party's will, the Party's manhood. And I believe it is going to be apparent to us in the near future that the S. L. P. is to lead the Socialist parties of the world. [Applause.] Already the leaders, at least, of the Parti Ouvrier Français, the overwhelmingly dominant Socialist organization, the S. L. P. of France, are coming to look to us for the inspiration of success. They are coming to understand our movement, because conditions here so nearly resemble their own. They understand that the future of Socialism in the United States is not to be judged by the mere recorded vote of the S. L. P., but that the thing to be understood is the enormous POTENTIAL SOCIALISM that hangs in the situation, fast getting ready to be precipitated with unparalleled rapidity.

The untoward circumstances which have hindered us, and over which we are now triumphing, they can understand, because they are so much like their own.

The greatest of our obstacles has been the greatest of theirs, viz., the attempts by the capitalist class to paralyze the proletarian movement by the appointment of labor leaders to government jobs. In the United States it manifests itself in "pure and simplicity"; in France in a Millerand minister. And in America as we conquer, so does the Parti Ouvrier Français. In the elections of May last, they won immense victories, while the ministerial Socialists, the job-holders and job-hunters, went down in crushing defeat.

The French comrades have also their Kangaroos to deal with, although they were not, until recently, at least, known by that name, being called "Intellectuals." As to their general composition, it is similar to that of our Kangaroos. I have not, however, been able to find among them any "dealers in Egyptian onions." [Laughter.]

The record of these "Intellectuals" is just as shameful as that of our Kangaroos and Debsites. They not only vote for, they even introduce and help to pass a bill to raise the hours of labor for the children of France from ten to eleven hours a day. They sit side by side in government with a Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris Commune. They hold up the hands of the French Government that permits the slaughter, the shooting down in the back of the strikers at François, in Martinique, last February. Against all this the French Labor Party, led by Guesde, Lafargue, Zevaes [great applause], together with the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire, led by Vaillant, the valiant old Commundar [great applause, cries of "Live the Commune"], fights with all the bitterness of death. Like us they are called "Popes," "Sectarians," "Fanatics," etc. And so I say they are our comrades, blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh.

I said that until recently their Kangaroos were not known by that

name, but I am not sure that such will be the case in the future. I'll tell you why. I explained to them the whole history of the word "Kangaroo" as we use it, and in spite of my bad French, so deeply did the word "Kangaroo" fill a long felt want in their experience, that they burst into roars of laughter, and with great gusto declared: "Hereafter we call our Intellectuals 'Kangaroos!'" [Great laughter.]

This incident occurred at a reunion given by Section Paris of the French Labor Party, to Comrade Arnaelsteen of Los Angeles [now at the Exposition], and myself on the eve of my departure for America. On that occasion Arnaelsteen and myself explained the American situation, labor fakir, Kangaroo, and all. One French comrade after another rose and declared that in describing conditions in America we had described—far more than we imagined—the conditions confronting the revolutionists of France. And then came one of the most beautiful incidents I have ever seen. Amid tumultuous enthusiasm, two of our charming French young women comrades presented to me, to bring to you, as a token of solidarity of our French comrades with us, this beautiful red flag [displaying] on which they have worked with their own fingers the following words:

.....
 : TO THE :
 : SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY :
 : FROM THE :
 : PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS. :
 : :

[Tremendous applause.]

Revolutionary songs were then sung; Comrades Kuhn, De Leon, Sanial and the National Executive were toasted, and before the meeting adjourned the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Party Ouvrier Francals, Agglomeration Parisienne, [Section Paris of the French Labor Party], assembled at its headquarters, Tuesday, the 22nd of May, after having listened to the interesting explanation of the situation of the proletariat and the Socialist movement of the United States given by Comrades B. F. Kelnard and Arnaelsteen, of the Socialist Labor Party, sends its fraternal salutation to the militant Socialists of the United States. It asserts its entire solidarity of Socialist conception and tactics with the comrades of the Socialist Labor Party, working, like they do, upon the sole ground of the class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Vive le Socialist Labor Party!
 Vive le Parti Ouvrier Francals!
 Vive l'Internationale!

[Signed] TOCHPORT, *President*.
 For the Agglomeration and by Order.
 NORAGE, *Secretary*.

[Tremendous applause.]

Three cheers were given for the Parti Ouvrier Francals, and upon motion of Delegate Keep the National Secretary was instructed to draw up resolutions expressing the thanks of the Party

to the French comrades for the flag and the agreement of the S. L. P. with them in principles and tactics.

NOMINATIONS FOR CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

Delegate De Leon moved, in view of the impossibility of getting announcements in *The People* of this week at a later time, that it be made the first order of business at the Wednesday meeting to make nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States. Seconded and carried.

Delegate De Leon invited the delegates to attend, in the basement of the People Building, where the Daily People press is contained, on Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock, where, in their presence, would be printed, as the first thing that the press would print, a salutatory poem by Comrade Dalton, of Seattle Wash., after being read by him. Delegates to be supplied with copies.

Greetings were read from Max Stech, New York City, and a letter from Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Texas, sending his greetings to the convention and regretting his inability to be present.

On motion, it was decided that in future delegates absent without excuse should have their names inscribed on the minutes.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

The roll-call was then read for the introduction of resolutions. The following resolutions were introduced:

One by Delegate O'Fihelly and one by Section Buffalo. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

One by Section Detroit, one by Delegate Minkley, and one by Connecticut delegates. Referred to Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

One by Delegate Eberle. Referred to Committee on Attitude of Party Towards Trade Unionism.

At 12.45 p m. the convention adjourned for the day.

THIRD DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,

Monday, June 4, 1900.

The convention opened at 9.30 a. m.

McKeown was elected Chairman, Boland Vice-Chairman.

Chairman Eberle of the Credentials Committee then reported

the arrival of Hugh Richards, of the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana, and Frank W. Wilson, of the Sixth Congressional District of New Jersey, and recommended that they be seated as delegates. Adopted.

The minutes of the first two days' session were then read and adopted.

Delegate Noonan then rose to a question of privilege, stating that his seconding of Delegate Wolfson's amendment on Saturday to the effect that the Committee on Credentials be composed of a number equal to the number of States represented in the convention, had no reference further than to the number of which the committee was to be composed, that it had no reference to the Kangaroos, and requested the convention to accept his apology. A motion to this effect was thereupon made, seconded and carried.

Delegate Wolfson also rose to a question of privilege, apologizing for and retracting the remarks made by him in support of his amendment on Saturday, in regard to the number of the Committee on Credentials, in which he stated that the Kangaroos should also be represented, if there were any in the convention. Upon motion, duly seconded, the convention accepted the apology and retraction.

The secretary then read, amid laughter, a newspaper clipping, stating that the Central Federated Union of New York City had adopted resolutions introduced by Joseph Barondess, denouncing the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, declaring them to be allies of the capitalists and agencies for furnishing non-union men to employers.

Delegate Thomas asked to be excused on account of business with Comrade Brower, General Secretary, S. T. & L. A. Granted.

Letters of greeting were then read from Secretary Kruse, of the California State Committee, and the Workingmen's Publishing Association, and telegrams of greeting from Sections Cleveland, Minneapolis and Providence, the Pioneer Cigarmakers' Union, and Henry J. Poelling, Logansport, Ind.

The reports of committees were then received.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions and the Committee on Attitude of the Party Towards Trades Unionism reported progress.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

The Committee on Appeals and Grievances made a partial report on two cases, one on an appeal taken by a non-Party member

to the National Board of Appeals from a section which had refused to admit him; the other in the matter of a decision rendered by the National Board of Appeals on an appeal by Section Los Angeles. Objection was raised to the effect that since neither case had been appealed to the convention, the whole matter be tabled. So ordered.

Prior to tabling the above matters, the following discussion took place:

National Secretary KUHN. The convention in handling this case [the Claus case] ought to bear in mind this much. Here is the case of a man who has been refused admission by a section. He thereupon turns to the national convention to have the action of that section overthrown, having previously appealed to the Board of Appeals. It appears to me that a man who is not a member of the Socialist Labor Party, who has been refused admission by a section, has no standing before this convention [applause], and I fail to see why this convention should bother with the matter at all. The only thing that we could possibly do and avoid establishing a precedent that might be followed up later on in a matter like this, would be to table the whole matter and bother no more with it. This man Claus was at one time a member of Section Malden; he "kangarooed," went out, tried to swing Section Malden over into the Kangaroo camp, and when the Kangaroos started on their unity racket, trying to unite with the Debs Party, he became disgusted and left them. He then wanted to get back into the Party, was refused by Section Malden, rightly so; went to the Board of Appeals; and the Board of Appeals might as well have sat down on him there and then and told him, You have no standing whatever before this body. The convention should certainly do it. He has no standing before this convention or before any body connected with the Socialist Labor Party. [Applause.]

Delegate MALLONEY: As the case is before the convention, I would rather not see it tabled. I would rather have this convention, as a whole body, immediately repudiate Claus and establish some kind of law that in future a case of this kind will not be considered by the Board of Appeals or anything outside of the section to which application for membership is made.

Delegate CURRAN. The action of the Board of Appeals in this matter has been misunderstood, of course, as a result of simply hearing the report read and not looking into the details of it. When some one comes with an appeal before the Board of Appeals, it certainly has to decide whether or not he has a right to be there, and the Board of Appeals accordingly informed Mr. Claus that, under the constitution, it had no jurisdiction in the matter, that the sections have jurisdiction as to the admission of members, and consequently he was out of court. Then Claus writes the Board of Appeals that he will appeal to the convention. As a proper procedure we notified the convention that he has done so, but I have been waiting for some one on the National Executive Committee to make the point that he has not made a

proper appeal. As I understand it, if a person is displeased with the decision of the Board of Appeals, and wishes to take appeal to the convention, the proper course is to register his appeal with the National Executive Committee, so that it can report to the convention; and I do not believe he has done so. Consequently, it is not here properly before the convention. This is simply the report of the Board of Appeals, and the Committee on Appeals and Grievances have overlooked the matter in bringing it in—as also in bringing up the matter of California. There has been no appeal to the convention in the California matter and that is not before us. If you will simply consider it from this standpoint, you will find that the Board of Appeals had to act in the matter because the appeal was made to it, and it informed Mr. Claus that he had no standing before that committee. You saw no call in *The People* for any evidence in the case. Immediately on the letter of Claus being brought before the Board of Appeals, the secretary was instructed to write him direct, without any call to take evidence or any hearing, that it had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Delegate Kinnealy moved that the whole matter be tabled. Seconded and carried.

In the Jules Magnette case, of Essex County, New Jersey, the Committee on Appeals and Grievances requested all representatives of the County Committee and the Board of Appeals to meet this committee or the chairman thereof after the adjournment of the morning session, so that arrangements could be made for a hearing.

Delegate Kroll moved that the report of the Committee on Grievances be accepted as one of progress. Seconded and carried.

The Committee on Party Press and the Auditing Committee both reported progress.

Upon motion, the report of the manager of the New York Labor News Company was submitted, Comrade Kuhn reading the same, as follows:

REPORT OF THE NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

NEW YORK, June 1, 1900.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party:

Dear Comrade.—The receipts of the Labor News Company for the four years since the last National Convention are as follows:

From July 1, 1896, to July 1, 1897.....	\$2,531.87
From July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898.....	3,147.48
From July 1, 1898, to July 1, 1899.....	5,382.88
From July 1, 1899, to June 1, 1900 (11 months).....	4,836.90

Total income for 3 years and 11 months.....\$15,898.93

It will be observed that the income for the twelve months ending July 1, 1899, exceeded the income for the previous year by \$2,235.40.

This increase was due to an increase in stock and character of literature carried, proper classification, cataloguing, and persistent advertising in *The People*. The classification, cataloguing, and advertising were performed by Comrade H. Simpson, and since then the scope of the business done has gradually increased.

The Kangaroo exodus did not make itself felt in the Party's Literary Agency. The income for the twelve months ending July 1, 1899, was \$5,382.88, while the income for the eleven months ending June 1, 1900, was \$4,836.90; and if the income for June keeps up with the monthly income for the past six months, the receipts for the year of Kangaroism will exceed the receipts for the previous year, when they were all in the Party.

In the near future various changes in the scope of the business are contemplated, which changes the membership will be made familiar with in the usual manner. Fraternally yours,

JULIAN PIERCE, *Manager*.

Delegate Pierce, Manager of the Labor News Company, then added the following verbal statement to his report:

Delegate PIERCE. Some of the archives of the Labor News Company were stored at 184 William street, and when the change took place last summer some of them were mislaid and could not be found. I did not discover this until a few weeks ago, and in the meantime it was practically impossible to get the facts which those archives contain by going over the books—simply did not have the clerical force to do it. I shall make out at the end of the first six months of the present year a complete report containing the number of books sold during the last four years ending July 1, as well as a good deal of other information about the company, and that report will be printed in *The People* or presented to the sections in the ordinary way.

Upon motion the report was accepted.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

The roll-call was then read for the introduction of resolutions.

A resolution was presented by Delegate Wolfson, on behalf of the sections of the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts (Haverhill, Salem, Groveland and Danvers), requesting the convention, in view of extraordinary conditions prevailing there, that the Party render them special aid.

Delegate O'Fihelly made a motion, seconded, to refer the matter to the National Executive Committee, and that they extend to the sections named all the aid possible.

Delegate Kroll made a motion, seconded, to lay the matter on the table, on the ground that it comes under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts State organization. The latter motion, put to a vote, was lost by a vote of 28 to 38.

Delegate Kircher made a motion, seconded, to refer the matter to the General Committee of Massachusetts.

Whereupon Delegate Sanial offered as a substitute motion that the matter be referred to the Committee on Constitution. Substitute carried.

A series of resolutions presented by Section Louisville, Ky., was referred to the proper committees.

A motion that the reading of all resolutions, simply repeating those that have already been read and referred, be dispensed with, was lost.

Resolutions from Delegates Bilsbarrow, Munro and Reid were referred to the Committee on Rules and Regulations.

The convention then took a recess, at 11.15 a. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Eberle of the Credentials Committee reported the arrival of Delegate Jens Lyngard, of Middlesex County, N. J., and recommended that he be seated. So ordered.

The reports of the various committees were then taken up.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND REGULATIONS.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations recommended the adoption of the following rules:

Resolved, That the National Secretary act as a committee to read resolutions presented to the convention and distribute the same to the proper committees.

Resolved, That no delegate be allowed to speak more than once on the same motion, and ten minutes be the limit of time allowed, except to the mover of the resolution, who will be allowed five minutes to close. It being understood that this excludes the putting of the previous question so long as any delegate desires the floor or assigns his time.

The first regulation was adopted as read.

Moved and seconded that the second regulation be adopted as read.

Delegate Simpson moved to amend by eliminating that part of the resolution which reads, "It being understood that this excludes the putting of the previous question so long as any delegate desires the floor or assigns his time." Upon vote, the amendment was lost.

Delegate Curran moved to amend, by adding after the words "same motion," the words "while any delegate who has not spoken desires the floor." The same adopted by a vote of 39 to 3.

The original resolution, as amended, was then put to a vote, and carried by a vote of 44 in favor and none against.

The Committees on Constitution, Platform, Attitude Towards Trade Unionism, Appeals, Party Press, and the Auditing Committee were not prepared to report.

Delegate Rose resigned his place on the Auditing Committee, on account of inability to remain in the convention, and requested that Delegate Bomstead be appointed in his place.

Motion was made and seconded that Delegate Rose's resignation be accepted and Delegate Bomstead be appointed in his place. Carried.

NOMINATIONS OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

Delegate Reid then made a motion, seconded, that a committee of three, to be known as the Nominating Committee, be appointed for the purpose of collecting information as to eligible comrades for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Delegate Hickey rose for a point of order to the effect that the whole convention is a nominating committee.

The Chair ruled that the point of order was well taken.

Delegate Kinneally appealed from the ruling of the Chair.

The Chair then stated his reasons for the ruling as follows: .

My reason for ruling that a committee of this kind would be out of order is simply this: (1) the comrade who proposes it calls it the "Nominating Committee;" (2) It looks too much like lobbying; (3) It deprives the convention of the right of knowing the wishes of the complete body here represented. I hold that the convention in its entirety is a nominating body and that it will take a very short space of time to get the data and other information necessary to get eligible candidates before this convention for President and Vice-President.

Chair sustained by a vote of 36 to 30.

Delegate Reid then made a motion, seconded, that an investigating committee be appointed to find out what material there is in the Party for the nominations in question and report to the convention.

Delegate Kroll made a motion, seconded, that the National Secretary be instructed to furnish the convention with such data as may be necessary to inform them correctly as to members of the Party who are eligible for the nominations in question.

Chair ruled both motions out of order.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

The roll-call was then read for the introduction of resolutions.

Three amendments to the constitution were proposed by Dele-

gate Simpson; one as to salaried appointees of the N. E. C.; the second recommending that the N. E. C. be composed of fifteen members; and the third, that a Party conference, composed of one delegate from each State, be held once a year. As to the first amendment, "To exclude from membership in the National Executive Committee all salaried employees of the National Executive Committee," the following reasons were offered by Delegate Simpson:

The present constitution excludes editors only, but I believe that it is for the best interests of the Party to exclude from the National Executive Committee all paid appointees of the National Executive Committee. If we believe that material interests affect and determine men's opinions in society as a whole, then this is also possible within the Party.

At present there sits as a member of the National Executive Committee the manager of the Labor News Company. He is appointed, and his salary and conditions of work are determined by the National Executive Committee. As a member of the National Executive Committee, he in part controls and determines those very things which affect him personally. There is in existence an Advisory Board of the Labor News Company, appointed by the National Executive Committee, and composed at present exclusively of non-members of the National Executive Committee. This Board, which is intended to supervise the management of the Labor News Company, is directly responsible to the National Executive Committee. It is thus responsible in part to the very manager whose action it is to supervise and control. The anomaly is too obvious to need comment. It is enough to point it out.

The three proposed amendments of Delegate Simpson were referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate Meyer as to local Party platforms. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate Bilshaw as to publishing associations. Referred to Committee on Party Press.

Resolution of Delegate Kretlow as to Party candidates. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate Minkley in regard to action of S. L. P. delegation to the International Socialist Congress. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution of Delegate O'Fihelly on rules and regulations. Referred to Committee on Rules and Regulations.

Resolution of Delegate Dinger in regard to S. T. & L. A. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

A letter was read from Comrade Stephen D. Cooper, of Section

New York, inviting the delegates to attend a meeting of the Daily People Conference, that evening, at 8 p. m., in the Daily People Building.

At 3.30 p. m. the convention adjourned for the day.

FOURTH DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
Tuesday, June 5, 1900.

Convention called to order at 9.30 a. m.

Crimmins elected Chairman, Munro Vice-Chairman.

A telegram of greeting was read from Section Indianapolis; a letter from the Young Socialist Propagandists of New York City, which letter included an invitation to the delegates to attend a special entertainment to be given in their honor that evening at their quarters, 311 East Seventy-Fourth street; a letter from Section Denver, extending greetings and including a recommendation as to employment of a stenographer for the convention (referred to the Committee on Resolutions); letters of greeting from Sections Richmond, Ind., and Richmond, Va.

The minutes of Monday's session were then read and adopted.

The reports of committees were next taken up.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND REGULATIONS.

Secretary O'Fihelly, for the Committee on Rules and Regulations, recommended the adoption of the following regulation:

That that part of the rules giving the last half hour of each afternoon session of each day to the reading of resolutions be stricken out and the following substituted therefor: Reading of motions and resolutions for reference to committees to be the last order of business of each session previous to adjournment.

Adopted.

The Committee on Constitution was not ready to report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS.

Chairman Sanial, for the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, then reported as follows:

In the name of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions I report as follows: The platform, or, more properly speaking, the Declaration of Principles, of the Socialist Labor Party cannot be a course in economics or politics. It must be a highly condensed statement of certain great generalizations or great principles that have been arrived at by previous research and observation. These truths must, of course,

be put in such a form as to make them appear almost self-evident, as do appear those great truths, when discovered, which it took ages to bring to light. Now it is the duty of the agitator to fully explain, fully demonstrate those truths, educate the people so that they will recognize them. The old parties very properly have planks, as they are called, for one good reason; the fundamental principles of capitalism cannot be in question or debate among them. Capitalism exists, is established, and therefore what properly comes before them is any question brought about by a development of capitalism itself. Therefore, such questions as money, protection or free trade, taxation and so forth, are properly the subject of "planks" in the platforms of capitalist parties. [Applause.] But the Socialist Labor Party has only one great principle and one great plank [applause]: the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of the co-operative system of production on a Socialist basis, that is, through the public ownership of all the means of production, distribution and transportation.

Now it falls under the sense that, so long as capitalism subsists, any man that may be elected to any office by the Socialist Labor Party not only will consider it his duty to advocate and force the adoption of palliatives for the temporary improvement of the condition of the working class under existing conditions—he will naturally do this—it is his duty—but he will be compelled to do that according to the wishes of his constituents, expressed by the methods supplied by the Socialist principle of the imperative mandate. [Applause.]

Without wasting the time of this convention upon considerations that are familiar to every well-trained Socialist, of men such as this convention is composed of, I shall simply state, therefore, that the committee recommends that the platform of the Socialist Labor Party, that is, the Declaration of Principles, adopted in 1889 and somewhat amended in 1896, be readopted word for word, and the whole string of planks, that remind us of the infancy of Socialists, when Socialists were still impressed with the idea that we must do something immediately for the working class, planks that are somewhat "Kangarooic," I must say, in their nature [laughter]—that all these planks be stricken out and the Declaration of Principles alone remain. [Applause.]

As for the rest, as for those measures, those palliatives which it is expected that Socialists will advocate, or will push to the front wherever they have representatives in office, they can be made through the Municipal Programme. It is not a platform but a programme, and that programme, as you know, was drawn by a committee appointed by the National Executive Committee by order of the convention of 1896. Now, there are some important points in that programme, points of vital importance, establishing very clearly the position of the Socialist Labor Party on such issues as taxation, and also about Glasgow "Socialism," and all that sort of thing; and the committee would recommend that, after having adopted the platform, the Declaration of Principles, as it stands, the convention take up that Municipal Programme and endorse it also, referring it, however, to the National Executive Committee to make such improvements and amendments in the statistics and other statements as may have been rendered necessary by the development since 1896.

Delegate Kircher made a motion, seconded, that the recommendation of the committee as to the platform and "immediate demands" be adopted.

Delegate Meyer advocated the striking out of the words "through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy," on the ground that the statement is not in keeping with our teachings today—we have always had political democracy, but not economic democracy.

Delegate Meyer also stated that the expression of the class strug-

gle in the last paragraph of the platform is not explicit enough; that while the members of the Socialist Labor Party understand what it means, quibbles can be made against it; there are two ways of explaining the words: "We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body," and that the matter should be stated in such a form that no dispute as to the meaning could be possible.

Delegate Meyer also claimed there were repetitions in the platform.

Delegate Simpson spoke as follows:

Delegate SIMPSON. I rise to speak along the same line as the delegate from Detroit. I believe there should be stricken out the following portions: All the first paragraph; the second paragraph down to including "this right;" the third paragraph down to including "whole people;" the fourth paragraph down to including "be traced;" and in the fifth paragraph the words "through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy."

I will support my amendment to the recommendation of the committee by taking the statement of Comrade Sanial that the platform of the Socialist Labor Party should be a condensed statement of the great truths arising by previous investigation and research. In other words, that it is to be and ought to be nothing more than a general declaration in the most general form of the Socialist science of the day.

Comrade Sanial says that these truths as stated in the platform in this most general way must appear self-evident. Now here I must dissent from Comrade Sanial. In so far as these truths appear self-evident they are of no effect. It is only so far as they appear absurd and paradoxical, the very reverse of all the previous experience of the race and working class under the thrall of capitalist dominion, both material and intellectual—in so far only as it is revolutionary and therefore strikes a man as something absurd and paradoxical, does it stand, only in so far can it have the desired effect. In other words, the revolutionary character of the platform should appear at first sight. So far, therefore, from attempting to make it self-evident, we ought, on the other hand, to make it as clear as possible that the declaration of principles of the Socialist Labor Party is essentially distinct and radical from all former declaration of principles by all former parties. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, what do these passages which I have enumerated indicate? I will take the motto of Benjamin Franklin that "Property is the creature of society," etc. It appears at first sight quite socialistic; it appears the same as the Socialist Labor Party's claim that all the means of production should belong to society as a whole; and yet it means something entirely distinct, entirely different, something out of all connection with what the Socialist Labor Party demands. It is essentially and distinctly bourgeois. This declaration of Benjamin

Franklin is merely and nothing more than a declaration of bourgeois society that it can tax away every farthing for its own support. [applause], to maintain its own power. It is a declaration by bourgeois society common to all previous classes of societies, for that matter, of all societies, whether class or no class societies.

Whether in the old communal organization or in the old slave society of Rome or under Feudalism, at all times society has recognized that fact, that every farthing of wealth that is in the community must be exercised for the defense of the community. But it also, in the case of Benjamin Franklin, has that special significance, and no other and no further, that the power of taxation of the capitalist government to maintain the control of the capitalist class is unlimited. It may be restricted in form by the Constitution, but in extent it is unlimited. It means nothing more than that; and yet it appears revolutionary. We must therefore be on our guard against these resemblances of form and remember the meaning that attaches to such a statement. For we must take the statement in connection with the whole life of Benjamin Franklin. Now Benjamin Franklin was perhaps the most democratic man in the convention that framed the Constitution, with the exception, perhaps, of Wilson. Now what does he say? In one of his essays on the subject of the poor in England—and by "poor" he means the laboring class, the working class, for that was the technical term for the working class in the eighteenth century—he says that England has treated its poor better than any other nation in the world; and this he said in the eighteenth century when the evictions of the working class, the expropriation of the land from the working people of England, was still proceeding at a great rate.

Those who have read the last chapter of Marx on how England treated its working people know that it was no better than the German feudalists treated their people or any other. But that statement of Franklin shows where he stood. He stood with the capitalist, the ruling class of his day, and so it is with these declarations of the founders of this Republic.

When they asserted the equality of man in the Declaration of Independence they meant nothing more than the bourgeois, capitalistic equality of man—before the law, equality as property owner. But in so far as men are property owners under capitalist society, so far as the law applies to them the same, the effect must be unequal, that is understood—

Delegate SANIAL. That is what the platform says.

Delegate SIMPSON. I will come to this, Comrade Sanial. Just as you will notice when two unequal forces are acted on by the same force the effect is unequal; and so it is here. The pursuit of happiness mentioned in the Declaration of Independence means nothing more than the right to property; so it was interpreted from the beginning of this government, so it was interpreted by the Constitution lawyers and the Supreme Court of the United States; and it never had any other meaning, no matter what its form may be; for the men who framed it were bourgeois.

That the founders of the Republic wanted to secure every citizen in

the enjoyment of these rights as they understood it is perfectly true, but that they wanted to secure these rights to every citizen in the sense we understand these rights is not true; they never intended it, never could have intended it.

That "the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people" is not even true for their day in the way they understood it. If you will follow up the transactions in the continental congress or in the constitutional convention, you will find that the great majority of the makers of the Constitution and the founders of this Republic were opposed to democracy even as it is to-day understood by the great mass of the people who are not yet Socialists.

That "democracy has been perverted to the ends of plutocracy" I cannot admit. I must say with the delegate from Detroit that democracy, according to Socialist teachings, has at all times been the very form of organization of plutocracy. It has been the very form of organization through which capitalism maintains its power over the working class. Just as the loose sovereignty of the middle ages is peculiar to the economic organization of the middle ages, so democracy of to-day is characteristic of the plutocracy, or capitalism, of to-day. It is the only form in which plutocracy can maintain its supremacy over the working class. Instead of the force of olden times, there comes in the bribery, the corruption of modern times. Instead of the force of the sword, it is the force of gold, and corresponding means must be adopted.

When we consider these facts, we see at once that instead of proclaiming to the American people that the wishes and intentions of the founders of this Republic have been perverted from their original purpose, we should explain to them on the contrary that the founders of this Republic were from the very start bourgeois with bourgeois notions and instincts and prejudices [applause]; that they pursued at all times the interests of their class; that when they fought against England, they fought a bourgeois revolution and not a Socialist revolution [applause], just as the French revolutionists, when they fought against the old monarchy, fought for the rights of the bourgeoisie and not for the rights of the French working people. Just as the French bourgeoisie, as soon as it came into power, differentiated French citizens into two classes, declaring that there is one class of active citizens, who can vote, and another class of passive citizens, who cannot vote, these being workingmen, so in this country we have had, at the very time of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and for almost fifty years after that, two classes of citizens, the class of active citizens who could vote, they had property, and the class of passive citizens, who could not vote; and the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution did not protest against that inequality.

Delegate DALTON. The debate on the readoption of the Socialist Labor Party platform seems to have led us rather far afield. We are to-day engaged in waging precisely the same battle that the bourgeoisie of the United States and France waged a hundred years ago. We are fighting to accomplish the triumph of the working class, to enthrone

our class in power. We are not fighting for co-operative commonwealths, for any abstract idea of human brotherhood. We are fighting to enthrone ourselves in power, and after that we will see what we will do. [Applause.] If it is true that the working class of each country must first of all settle matters with its own ruling class, then it is also true that the working class of each country must take into account the traditions, political institutions, and must battle along the lines of hard sense and history.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

What more concrete statement would you wish? What more would you wish to battle for? We ought to stand for it.

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is secure to every citizen in the enjoyment of this right.

It is plainly stated in the Declaration of Independence and it is believed by the people of the United States that that is what those men fought for, and in the mind's eye of a Franklin, in the mind's eye of that revolutionary bourgeois, that foremost revolutionist, he saw a country in which every man could be a property owner. He saw a country in which, freed from the trammels of feudalism and militarism and monarchy, each citizen of the United States could become economically as well as politically the equal of everybody else [applause]; and the fact that in his time he did not know—because the economic development had not reached a stage where he could know—that the very key-note of oppression, the very chain that binds the people, is the chain of the capitalist system of private property, does not at all militate against that declaration that we can take it and use it in the same way he would have taken it and used it in his time. As Simpson says, every ruling class has stood by that, and so do we, and when we become the ruling class, that will become the guiding star of the proletariat.

Property is the creature of society, and society is entitled to the last farthing whenever society needs it.

And "society" always means the ruling class. We have been nothing in the past, we are to be everything in the future, and we stand on that declaration no matter by whom and when and how it was made. We cannot frame a platform here and submit it to the American people, in which we take the stand that the revolutionary fathers were a lot of oppressors. We cannot go on and state here that the revolutionary fathers intended to oppress the working class. It would be an historical lie to start with, it would be nonsense and poppycock to finish with. [Applause.]

With the founders of this Republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people.

If the revolutionary fathers did not consider the wage-slave nor the chattel slave, if they did not consider the "poor," as my comrade says, if they did not consider them part of the people, what

of it? Will the proletariat consider the parasite, the capitalist and all that thereby hangs, will we consider them any part of society and of the people? Do we mean, when we say that we hold the true theory of government to be that the whole people should control it, do you think that we will include in that the non-producer? No, no. If, when the working class obtains power, there remains any element in society non-productive, parasitic, sucking the blood of the workers, we will declare that they are not only not part of the people, but that they are inhuman and the time has come to eliminate them. They are unfit to survive. [Applause.]

That "democracy has been perverted to the ends of plutocracy" sounds a good deal like claptrap to many of us, no doubt of that. But we see in the development of the United States to-day, instead of a large middle class—middle class in the economic sense of the term—spread over the United States, we see that the plutocracy has forged ahead. We see that to-day the backward tool of production in the hands of the middle class being rendered more and more ineffective and futile; the plutocracy is the capitalist proper, is the ruling element, and they have perverted the principle of democracy. Does it follow that we should come out and say that democracy has never ruled? Comrade Simpson says that he agrees with Comrade Meyer of Detroit, and in the same breath he disagrees with him. The comrade from Detroit says that democracy never has prevailed. Comrade Simpson says that democracy has prevailed and it is the principle of the bourgeoisie. Between these two statements we take our stand, and we say this: when we say democracy, we mean Socialist democracy, we mean the democracy of the proletariat, we mean the rule of the workers, let others take what meaning they want.

As far as quibbles are concerned, finding fault with this platform, if this assemblage or any other can frame a Socialist platform under the capitalist system, under a system where people are dominated by capitalist ideas and ideals, if they can frame such a platform, I say, that will not be quibbled with, be found fault with, they are the wisest assemblage of men that ever met on the earth's surface. The platform as it stands to-day *does* contain an expression of the class struggle that cannot be misunderstood, it *does* contain the principles that we advocate, it *is* framed in accordance with American traditions and history. We are living in the United States, we are standing and fighting along political lines as laid down in the United States, and we have got to act according to that. If we attempt to do more, to come out and put in this platform a larger or more extended statement of our position, why, we will find that between trying to concentrate and trying to get more in we will get up a weak and feeble platform. This has stood the test. This with the "tapeworm" stricken off it, this with the Kangarooic and Debsic idea knocked off it [laughter], stands a concrete expression of the fighting Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

Delegate RICHARDS. I am surprised that such an amendment was offered to the report of the Committee on Constitution. If it were not for the fact that this amendment would involve an endless

debate, I should not make the motion which I now will propose, but in order to economize the time of the convention, I will submit that this amendment to the report of the Committee on Constitution be tabled and that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

Delegate DE LEON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. So long as anybody who has not spoken wishes to speak, he has the right to the floor, and the previous question may not be entertained, and a motion to table is a back door entrance to the previous question. While I agree that time is being wasted in the criticism, I consider that sufficient matters have been brought out to justify an exhaustive debate upon this, and can state to you that the points which have been raised here, have come into the The People office in letter shape numerous, and it seems to me that there is a widespread misunderstanding of the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order was not necessary, simply because the Chair had not put any amendment before this assemblage. The Chair has only entertained a motion, and so far as he knows he has heard no amendment made to the committee's report.

Delegate Simpson thereupon made a motion to amend the recommendation of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions by striking out the passages enumerated by him at the beginning of his previous remarks.

Alternate Schulberg (acting for Delegate Keep) seconded the motion.

Delegate DINGER. I am opposed to the amendment. It is impossible for us to frame a declaration of principles that will appeal to everybody. It is the business of the Socialist agitator on the stump to tell the people what you mean by "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and to explain what you mean by "democracy." Most of those terms the average workingman understands. It is useless to try to explain the principles of the Socialist Labor Party in a short platform, and consequently we have to resort to these truths that are recognized by every workingman to-day. We must show that "through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy" this right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is simply rendered nugatory, that this right cannot be established until the workmen take hold of the means of production.

It is true that Benjamin Franklin and the founders of this country were capitalists, but we must remember that every revolutionary movement started out with the end in view to secure to the people the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that with the stage of capitalist development reached at that time there was no other way possible to secure to the people the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as the founders of this Republic conceived it, than to establish the right to the private ownership in the privately operated means of production. Now those means of production have developed. We are not living to-day in the days of individualistic production; we have now collective production, and consequently our

construction of that word "property" is quite different from one hundred years ago.

We must certainly rely on the Socialist agitator to explain these things to the working class, and I cordially agree with the report of the committee in striking out the so-called "resolutions" in the platform. They were only misleading. It must be the object of this convention to bring in harmony the Socialist platform with actual necessities. Those of us who have had experience on the stump know very well that those "planks" stood in our way. They tended to confuse audiences; they gave a way to the capitalists and their agents and other quibblers to show that the Socialist Labor Party was a Party that advocated municipal ownership of street-car lines, government ownership of industries, whereas we advocate that the working class capture the government; and we say that Socialism does not necessarily mean government ownership of industries, but that the working class must own the government first and that only then will government ownership of industries become socialistic. These planks being in that platform made it necessary to explain away a good many things which seemed contradictory to the average workingman, and I therefore heartily agree with the report of the committee and hope this last amendment will not prevail.

Delegate DE LEON. I suppose as to the "resolutions" we are almost all agreed. These resolutions have been a stumbling-block right along. As for myself, I know that the most difficult question is when a freak reform party adopts some of our "resolutions," and says: "Will you deny that we are going your way? We have adopted two-thirds of your planks." It is such a silly argument that one finds it next to impossible to meet it.

Comrade Sanial spoke of these as kangarooish connections. It might be put perhaps a little more gently. It is the navel string that connected the active fighting S. L. P. with the embryo S. L. P. at a time when we had to go around with our hats in our hands, and try to sugar-coat our principles, and show people what we might do. And it was very dangerous, because, by telling people what we might do—all of which things did not in any way affect the fundamental thing that we are after, namely, the abolition of the wages system—we simply notified the freaks and capitalists through what doors they could get into our citadel and knock us out. These resolutions ought to be dropped. They are nonsense and they are untrue. They imply a state of things that is not to be accomplished. When a Socialist is elected, he is not elected to a battlefield, he is elected to a parliamentary field, and the parliamentary field is a special one, needing special tactics. I can imagine that a Socialist in parliament may do what some extremists might condemn under the term "log rolling." He might vote for a law that in no way intensifies or makes worse the condition of the working class in return for some material advantage. But if you have to tell them that, then you had better tell them nothing at all. I consider that that part of it does not need much expenditure of time, and I have said what I have said upon the subject simply to make it clear in any case.

As to the other objection, that is more serious. Comrade Meyer's objection is an objection that one hears very frequently. It is true, if you want to take the dictionary sense of "democracy," that democracy has never existed; but it is not true if you take the historic sense of it. When we use a term we do not use it in the sense that school boys use it, who go into moot courts for the purpose of showing to what extent their researches have gone, the result of which usually is to show how superficially the researches have been made. Democracy has come down through the pages of history as a recognized thing, and we mean by democracy what history means by it. True enough, there was no democracy in Athens, because the word "democracy" means "rule of the people," and if "people" means human beings, then two-thirds of Athens had nothing to say because they were workmen. They did not have access to the market place, where they could vote. Nevertheless, those institutions have come down to us as so-called democracies in the sense that there was not then representative government. This is the point that I desire to make clear. "Democracy" in history means not the dictionary sense. "Democracy" in history means simply something that precedes representative government; something that is possible so long as those who rule are so few that they can meet in "committees of the whole." But just as soon as those who rule, whatever those may be—plutocrats, capitalists, feudalists, or anybody else—whenever they become so numerous that they cannot meet in public assemblage and decide things, representative government becomes a necessity, a useful thing, and a good thing. And it may be perverted like anything else can be perverted that is good. I therefore cannot take any stock in the criticism from Detroit. We do not use the word "democracy" in a sense that history does not justify.

As to the criticism with regard to our revolutionary fathers, that raises a highly interesting point. It seems that there are people who by the word "revolution" understand a social wreck, a splitting off from the past absolutely. I do not so understand revolution. Revolution is simply the culminating point of evolution; and this revolution that we are about to make in our generation is intimately connected with the revolution that the so-called revolutionary fathers accomplished. To say that they were absolutely bourgeois, without any feeling for anybody else, to say that their purpose was to oppress and that that motto of Franklin meant that, is absolutely to ignore the fact, to ignore the philosophy of history. The revolutionary fathers were oncoming capitalists, they were bourgeois, but—and the point, I think, has been made before me—they imagined that if you would allow a person free access to the opportunities of labor, his freedom would be guaranteed.

It is false reasoning, it is unhistoric, it is unphilosophic, to draw a comparison absolute and hard and fast between our revolutionary fathers and the French revolutionists. The French revolutionists, those who accomplished the revolution, were well developed bourgeois; back of them were the masses, who had nothing to say, but who could give a good many blows and compel the then French revolutionists to accomplish cer-

tain results. It was not so in America. In America the men who accomplished the revolution were not the masses, but were men who really believed that by giving free opportunity to work, unhampered by feudal encroachments and feudal hampering laws, freedom was established. To say that they meant the oppression of the working people is an insult to the genius of America. [Applause.]

Will you tell me that John Adams of Massachusetts meant to oppress the people when, in his great speech, turning against the Northern men who wanted to abolish slavery in the South, and who were then howling against chattel slavery, he asked the question: Please tell me what is the difference between employing a man and paying him in money just enough to keep body and soul together—what is the difference between that and giving him just enough food for him to get along? "The one," said he, "is called slavery, and the other," said he, "is called freedom, but the two are the same thing; the difference is imaginary only." Do you tell me that that man meant to oppress the people of America? I say no; and it would have been much more to the point if the comrade who made the statement had adduced some points instead of stating generalities. Will you tell me that that sentence meant bourgeois oppression?

Will you tell me that James Madison did not understand the situation when he said in a magnificent little essay of his: "We are free to-day substantially, but the day will come when our Republic will be an impossibility. It will be an impossibility because wealth will be concentrated in the hands of a few. A republic cannot stand upon bayonets, and when that day comes, when the wealth of the nation will be in the hands of a few, then we must rely upon the wisdom of the best elements in the country to readjust the laws of the nation to the changed conditions." [Great applause.] Will you tell me that that man was animated by strict bourgeois sentiments?

Take Franklin. I regret indeed that the comrade did not take the pains to find out where that passage was put in. That passage occurs in a little argument by Franklin on what property means. I challenge anybody to justly point out anything to bear out that the meaning of that expression is bourgeois. I would like to give you the history of that expression. The continental congress was engaged with the subject of the ballot. Remember that the national Constitution does not say a word upon property qualifications, but during the discussion on the federal Constitution resolutions upon the subject were proposed. Somebody wanted a property qualification. Benjamin Franklin asked: "Suppose a man comes and wants to enroll. You ask him, 'What is your name?' 'John Jones.' 'Have you any property?' 'Yes, I have a donkey.' 'How much is 'your donkey worth?' 'Five pounds.' 'Very well, you can vote.' Next year the same man comes around and he wants to register. You ask him, 'Have you any property?' 'No.' 'What has become of your donkey?' 'He is dead.' 'Well, then, you can't vote!' 'Now, says Franklin, 'who voted last year, the man or the donkey?' [Laughter and applause.] Will you tell me that that man looked upon property as a means to oppress the workingmen? That sentence that "Property is the creature of society" is a deep scientific statement, and I would

like Comrade Simpson or anybody else to enlighten me as to where that utterance or a similar one happens before Franklin made it. Socialism maintains that very thing, that property is the creature of society; property, mind you, not wealth—property, that the power of holding, owning, is the creature of society.

A bourgeois never, never said that same thing. It was an aspiration of the revolutionary father, of that great scientific man, who uttered a new sentiment; a sentiment that did not come above the surface into the domain of science until Morgan wrote his work about "Ancient Society," and we there see how property was developed. All that Morgan wrote in about five hundred pages was anticipated in essence nearly fifty years by Benjamin Franklin, the one great scientist, the one great nobleman of the American revolution. [Applause.] Franklin, when he said that; indicated that society has a right to take all of that for society's benefit. Statements of John Adams, Madison, Franklin, not to mention the more demagogic Jefferson, go far enough to indicate that those men, when they established the American Republic, did not mean to establish a republic of oppression. With the French revolutionists it was different. There they had hardly started to do anything, when they immediately passed resolutions that held the working people, those who have no property, who labor under wage-slavery, under a state of subjection.

And I come back to the point: It is unscientific, unphilosophic, it is certainly not founded upon facts, to draw such a sharp comparison between the two. When the French Revolution took place, there was a proletariat ready at hand for the well-developed capitalists to jump on the back of; but in America there was no proletariat worth mentioning. In those days every man and woman, those whose hands were as empty as when they were born, had a future of wealth within bounds, certain affluence, independence. Man was then the architect of his own happiness, except the negroes, who were chattels and not considered human. The French revolutionists are not to be compared with the American, except to a limited extent. They used grandiose phrases, which their actions immediately denied. Here, those men used phrases which they did believe in. Consequently, I consider it to be an excessive display of extreme Marxism; it is running Marxism into the ground; it is carrying the thing into an excess which repels the heart and the mind, because you cannot catch even a student with that. Just as soon as he reads for himself, he will find that your facts are not there.

When we appeal to the people, we want to be careful to have ballast to our ship, so that it will not capsize, but we must also see to it that we have all the sails set up that will catch all the winds to carry our ship forward. [Applause.] We in this country have to steer against two rocks: On the one hand, the extreme ballast men, who want nothing but ballast and who would chop off every sail, who say it is superfluous—and the ship would stand motionless as it has stood in the past and develop into Kangarooism; this taxation position, for instance, is a development of it. I do not mean that Simpson would do that, but that is the danger. On the other hand are the freaks and reformers, who want nothing but sails. In the one case it is all ballast and the

ship moves not; in the other, the ship is all sails, and capsizes like a catharine-wheel. We must guard against both. We must be true as to facts, and we must be up to time as to the feelings.

I will close with the statement of a man to whom the movement owes much. He has written much nonsense, was declared insane, but he wrote some profound wisdom, and that man is Auguste Comte. Generalizing on the development of man, he says: "The heart always aspires to the best, but the mind is not, from the start, abreast of the heart. Only when the two are abreast of each other real human progress is possible." With the French revolutionists the mind was not abreast of the heart. Our revolutionists, on the contrary, really imagined that the heart and the mind were abreast of each other. Deprived of the presence of a large proletarian element, they could not conceive such a thing as wage workers by extraction, so to speak, and they opened the gates of the nation to the exploited and oppressed of others to come here and be free with them. They made a mistake. Development took place. Property, the slight thing that was to give freedom, became the weapon of oppression. We cannot blame them any more than we can blame Marx, who in several passages indicates that he does not believe that the capitalists would ever be clever enough to establish permanent trusts, monopoly. If he lived to-day he would know better, and see how smart capitalists can be. And if Franklin lived to-day and the revolutionary fathers, they would realize that what they imagined would be the means of freedom had become the means of oppression.

Now we connect with the revolution of a hundred years ago. That revolution was builded from the heart upon the part of men as to whom Pitt in the British Parliament said that in the history of great men he must admit that the Parliament in America consisted of the ablest men he ever had the fortune to read about. [Applause.] With hearts beating true to humanity, with a scientist like Franklin, who could fathom a truth ahead of the time, wishing for freedom, they established it to the best of their knowledge. And it may be that with ourselves, after we have accomplished our work, something new may arise. Who can tell? Remember always Columbus's experience. Traveling westward to reach China, he never saw China, but something else spread itself between him and that country. Nevertheless, his principle was correct, and China was ultimately reached on that route. So may we, after we have accomplished our revolution, find something new, something else that we know not about. Would it be just to us if our grandchildren should say that our purpose was to establish tyranny? That our purpose was to tyrannize any human being? No! They will in such case rise to the height of science, based upon facts, and say of us: "Those men did the best they knew, with the light they had, and aided by the material conditions that there were." [Applause.]

For this reason I consider the platform as reported by the Committee on Platform should stand; it is a good platform, stands upon facts, has all the ballast we want, and has the necessary sails to carry us on.

Delegate Kretlow, reverting to the objection of Delegate Meyer that the words at the beginning of the last paragraph ("We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body") do not indicate the class struggle with sufficient explicitness, stated that the remainder of that paragraph makes it perfectly clear as to what kind of class-conscious body is meant.

Delegate EBERLE. Do we or do we not hold that "the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is correct? Do we or do we not? Have we not preached for the last four years that that is correct? Do we or do we not "hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right?" We certainly do. We have held it right along; our speakers so told the public. Now, suppose we strike this out, and some one comes to us and says: "Why have you taken this out?" What excuse can you give? There is but one excuse. We can say that it was the opinion of the convention of 1900 that our revolutionary fathers did not mean the same thing by this that we mean, and because they did not mean the same thing, we struck it out. Is that a sensible excuse? Is it an excuse that would be true?—not saying that it is true, but suppose that it were true; is that any reason why we should strike this out? Have we a good explanation when we again go out to the people who have read our platform for the last four years? Is that a sufficient excuse for an intelligent body of men such as this to give to the people for striking out these words. If we stand for this, if we stood for it four years ago, it is right now, and we should stand for it in future and by no means strike it out because we were not the ones who got it up first. That is about the only apparent reason brought out in the debate I have seen why it should be stricken out.

Delegate LAWRY. There has been a misconception, to my mind, in the fact that there has not been taken into consideration the distinction between political and economic freedom. The founders of the Republic taught political freedom, but we are told in our platform that it is in the light of the contradiction between economic and political freedom that all these ailments that are upon the people to-day, through the development of the industrial system, have been brought about. Comrade De Leon and the other two comrades have well said that at the inception of this government it was laid down by the founders of this Republic that the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was to be attained through political freedom; they believed that at that time because the industrial force of this country was small. Now, to-day, through the industrial development, it is plainly evident that we have come to that stage that the contradiction between the political rights of the people and the economic rights of the people must be wiped out. It is for that reason that I say—and as I believe history has proved—that it is through the absolute perversion of the political democracy to the industrial tyranny of the industrial capital-

ists to-day that these ailments have been brought about. I see no inconsistency whatever in regard to that, Comrade Chairman, and I think that the platform is not only historically but absolutely correct in its every feature.

Delegate KROLL. It appears to me that Comrade Simpson has confused the noble work of the founders of the Republic with the despicable work of the capitalist class, who built a rotten structure upon a solid foundation. The foundation laid down by the declaration of American liberty, the Declaration of Independence, is just the foundation upon which we must build our co-operative commonwealth; and through our agitation, through our activity, every atom of our energy that we expend, it is our purpose and intention to tear down that structure built by the capitalist class, which makes political liberty impossible, that enslaves the masses for the benefit of the few, and that is not the result of the doings of the founders of the American Republic, not the result of the declaration of principles, but because that declaration of principles has not been lived up to and carried out. If the American people had carried the spirit of the Declaration of Independence in their hearts, if they had their eyes open, if they had seen the growing power of the capitalist class and taken steps to keep in possession of the political power and the political liberty, then the superstructure of capitalism would not have been in existence, it would not have been necessary for the Socialist Labor Party to work for the overthrow of the capitalist system. We must remove the rotten structure of the capitalist system and replace it with the glorious co-operative commonwealth, by taking possession of the political power. We must proceed stroke by stroke to remove the dirty work of capitalism, and erect a structure on the foundation in keeping with its depth, strength and nobility of purpose. [Applause.]

Delegate WOLFSON. When I heard the report of the Committee on Platform I was almost carried away with the soundness of the character of the proposition. At the same time I did not fully understand what part is to be stricken out, notwithstanding the fact that Comrade Sanial made reference to that freakish or Debsite or kangarooish portion and subsequently named by another delegate, also properly, "tapeworm." Next I also carefully listened to the amendment as proposed by Comrade Simpson. I was heartily impressed with Comrade Simpson's argument, and concluded—by listening to no further arguments—I think I shall seriously consider Comrade Simpson's amendment; but subsequently I heard arguments for which I shall stand. At the same time I shall suggest that, for those who shall be active during the coming four years in defending these sublime principles which we shall adopt to-day, in order to enable them to meet any and all freaks or political tricksters, that we should be able to meet them in short order. The amendment as submitted by Delegate Simpson is to strike out paragraphs one and two. In order to realize fully what it means we have to begin to read paragraph two—"With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right." In paragraph one we reassert what they have asserted—"the inalien-

able right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." They asserted their noble ambition to establish "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all those existing and for all those to come. But our present condition is by far different. Their good intentions were taken at a time when the present fully developed capitalist society was in its embryo; hence we have different conditions to contend with. When we reassert, we declare that they have established for us "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." As the case really is to-day, the right to life and liberty we have not. The right to the pursuit of happiness we do have; we are pursuing it every day, but it has such a great start of us and gaining on us that we will never catch up with it. If the comrade who has submitted the amendment would have submitted something like this in its place, for instance:

"Our fathers declared for political freedom; we declare for political and economic freedom. They gained political freedom; we are pledged to extend political freedom and to win equality in opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, by abolishing the present damnable system of wage-slavery. The present system of social production and individual ownership of wealth has produced two classes, the propertiless, wealth-producing class and the idle, non-producing, capitalist class. The issue between these two classes is the supreme problem in American politics to-day."

The supreme problem in American politics to-day is the supreme problem which we are going to place before the proletariat of this country and the world this week, and we should very carefully consider with what sort of document we appear before the 75,000,000 inhabitants of these United States. We should listen to every argument, to the expression of every shade of opinion and then think over it and select the best that can be taken out of it. [Applause.]

Delegate BILSBARROW. I wish to state that St. Louis is well satisfied with the platform as it stands, and I was so instructed. I also think it has been improved by cutting off the "tapeworm," as it has been called.

Delegate McKEOWN. I thoroughly agree with the recommendations of the committee in this matter.

Delegate SWEENEY of New York. I favor the platform adopted by the committee. I very much favor cutting the navel string between bourgeois platforms and the platform of the Socialist Labor Party. Our district was instructed for that.

Delegate CURRAN. To my mind there has been some virtue in Comrade Simpson's criticisms on this platform, although I think he has somewhat exaggerated the motto at the back of the hall and the motives of the founders of the American Republic in some of their statements. I think also the argument of Comrade De Leon has been a little extreme as to how far we should go to meet the feelings of the people and those of our time. To my mind, these statements by the founders of the American Republic seem very jingoistic in these days. It savors very much of the common argument of the capitalist class and their representative parties when they wrap themselves in

the American flag and talk about patriotism. I think we can go too far in these things. The question is, when we appeal to the wage workers, are we appealing to them to follow in behind us, blind and stupid, or are we seeking their support with the idea of educating them up to our level and making them conscious of the purposes we propose to accomplish? If we are to give too exaggerated an aspect of the feelings in the matter, we are going to have simply blind dupes, if we get them at all, but if we are going to adopt that line of argument or that way of appealing to them, we will find strong rivals in the capitalist parties, with every means possible for reaching them and with every possible way of getting in ahead of us. Consequently, I think the time has come when we can amend our platform in some particulars by dropping some of these seemingly jingoistic appeals. The statements or quotations from persons who have lived in former times are to my mind useful, it does not matter to me what their purpose was in bringing it about. It is just such quotations as that of Franklin and some of the broad generalizations of the bourgeoisie of to-day that we will employ in later years to weave a rope with which we will hang the capitalist class whenever they charge us with trying to wreck society. [Applause.] But when in former years we used to appeal to the people, quoting the post office as a sample of Socialist administration, we thought it was all right. It was necessary for the times, but that day has passed and we have discarded it. So also with our "immediate demands." It was a necessity in order to be practical, in order to refuse to remain stagnant, as conditions then existed. Now that time has gone. We have got the people, the class-conscious, the militant, the rough, rugged working class, the best elements in it, we have got them above the level of seeking for these immediate demands as baits with which to get them to vote the Socialist ticket. We have got them down on the broad and solid platform of Socialism pure and simple, and we can now afford to leave to the freak elements, the Populist Party, the Debs Party, and the Kangaroo Party, all these demands that tie us down to present conditions and make us almost part of them. So also, in the platform we can afford, after four years' time, to rise above the level that we took in 1896, and we can afford to make our statements here without changing the essence of these paragraphs that Comrade Simpson objects to. We can afford to cut out some of what I think is "jingoism" in the phrases we employ in introducing them. [Applause.]

Delegate WISMER. I just wish to remark that the platform as it stands will be voted for by myself, unless there is something better offered. Because it was offered by our forefathers is no reason why it should stand. If we can produce something better, why, I would vote for it; but if there is nothing better proposed than is here, why I shall vote to let it stand. A piece of wood will show its blemish with age. These expressions have stood a number of years, and we have not yet found anything better to replace them, but if the committee will offer something better in its place, why I think we would all be willing to adopt it. I think it would be advisable to drop it; I do not like ideas adopted from a hundred years ago, but, since we have nothing better, I think we should better keep it.

Delegate REINSTEIN. I rise to support the recommendation of the Committee on Platform to cut off that navel string, "tapeworm," or whatever you may call it. There was a time when I thought it was essential, absolutely important, to have a program maximum and a program minimum so as to build up the Party. I thought then, like Socialists do in some countries in Europe, that the main thing to attract the support of the masses is to point out to them what we want to do immediately. I came to the conclusion that, instead of really gaining by it, we are losing by it. My experience was that the Socialist Labor Party Platform, being the main document circulated during our agitation meetings, so far is the principal means of attracting the support of the masses; and I found in the majority of cases that, when we gave to a man who knew nothing about our principles a copy of our platform, and he read the declaration of principles, he was impressed by the general revolutionary spirit and the class struggle, but when he read all that string of palliatives—demands which simply have absolutely nothing to do with the class struggle—that last part impressed him more strongly. The result is that, instead of attracting to our Party organization and to the polls the support of people who are chiefly guided by the intention to support the class struggle, we attract people to the polls and into our organization who are bound sooner or later to develop in the Kangaroo direction, because the main reason why they came into our organization or supported us at the polls was that they found some kind of pet idea or scheme that they have been thinking of in this string of resolutions. I believe at present it would be a detriment to our Party to be guided by considerations of immediate success, of a rapid swelling of votes, and so forth. I believe we can very well afford to leave that to our predecessors, the People's Party, to the Debsites, the Kangaroos, etc. I believe we are now in that stage of our movement when we are laying firm the foundation; to compare it with the building of a modern sky-scraper—when we are building the frame of that organization which will battle for the co-operative commonwealth, which will face all the storms that strike the proletariat of this country; and just as those who erect those frames do not use all kinds of timber, but pick out the best material, just as well is it our duty to pick out for the building up of our organization such material as can be depended on, as will really aid the Party organization to withstand all the storms and attacks of the enemy. And I believe, if we strike out this string of palliatives, if we leave in our platform only the quintessence, pure, class-conscious Socialism, I believe that will affect the membership of our Party, in a natural selection of such an element as will be attracted by its main, revolutionary spirit, and not by any compromising considerations, and so forth.

Alternate Delegate SCHULBERG (in place of Delegate Keep). We cannot convert any single man to Socialism by presenting him a platform. All we can do is to interest him in our cause. Possibly it can make a good impression and possibly it can make a bad impression. Now how can we make the best impression upon our class, so that they will become aware of what we want? We must cater not only to

their intelligence, we must cater also to their spirit, to their feelings, to the conditions under which they are raised, and this platform, as it stands to-day, concrete, showing how and for what America was founded, and also showing that there is a class struggle, is absolutely correct. We are not catering to jingoism. This platform does not cater to any strong feeling of patriotism in the sense of the bourgeoisie of to-day. We show them that the capitalist class of to-day has actually repudiated what the ancestors of America wanted, and in showing them that, they will be more apt to throw over the capitalist class, and more apt to come to us; and as it stands now, it is absolutely correct and it should be adopted; we should not make any changes, it is justified by the conditions of the country, and it is more justified by what it says in regard to Socialism, in regard to the spirit of solidarity and the necessity to bring about the revolution. As far as the "immediate demands" are concerned, they are useless, because the immediate demands that we want we can get through the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and not through the platform. [Applause.]

Delegate LAKE. While I agree largely with Curran in his remarks, still I am compelled to observe one thing, that is, that the capitalist sheets of New York, in giving the quotation in the rear of the hall, refrained from giving the name of the man who gave utterance to that motto. But now, then, in regard to this jingoism; I remember distinctly as I progressed in the investigation of Socialism, that all those false ideas of patriotism, patriotic rot, were removed from my mind, and that I divorced myself from all preconceived notions and teachings which I had received from the capitalist class and so on, and I for one do not wish to return to that patriotic rot. I remember two years ago that Benjamin Hanford issued a leaflet which indulged largely—in the forefront of it—in what I looked upon as this patriotic rot, and I for one and Section Schenectady objected to it and used very few of them on that account. In regard to the platform, it was brought up in a special meeting of Section Schenectady and passed upon, and it was the general sense of the section that the time had arrived when a one-plank platform, or as near to it as possible, was advisable, and that many, if not all, of the resolutions, should be stricken out. I am therefore in favor of, and would support Comrade Curran's remarks, in regard to the jingoism which appears in the platform.

Delegate MALLONEY. I entirely agree with the report of the Committee on Platform and especially that part which eliminates from the platform those useless planks or shingles that have existed in the past. We know that the different political parties, as De Leon has said, will adopt almost all of them, two-thirds at least, for the purpose of throwing them in our face and saying to the uninitiated that they are coming our way, that they will arrive at the goal quicker, and that the only thing that keeps us from joining them is our intolerance, ignorance and bigotry. I am also aware of the fact that there is a certain danger in using shibboleths of a century. I know that Marx points out, in his "Eighteenth Brumaire," the way the soldiers of France were fooled. Cromwell and Napoleon the Third and others all used war cries for the express purpose of exciting in the uninitiated that spirit

of false patriotism, which is more ignorance than anything else. Consequently, when they appealed to the people, the proletariat, not understanding the real issues before them, and not considering that they were part of the issue, would "holler" for the "red cap." But with the Declaration of Independence, the case is entirely different. The Declaration of Independence starts out with the statement that "when in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the nations of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Now, the Socialist Labor Party does declare the causes which impel us to the separation. The Declaration continues: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish such government and institute in its place a new government, organizing its powers in such form and laying its foundations on such principles as shall seem to them most likely to effect their safety and happiness." That is the preamble of the Declaration of Independence. There is nothing that the Socialist Labor Party can say that is more to the point, absolutely nothing. We claim that the people have the right to form a government, that the people have the right to overthrow forms of government. We claim that the conditions that exist to-day are altogether different from the conditions existing at the foundation of the country. In those days there were blacksmith shops, little tanneries, bakeries, carpenter shops, and throughout the whole land the thing was spotted and dotted with industries of a small description; yet those people had gone centuries ahead of their time and proclaimed to the people that you had the right at any time to throw off that government and establish a better one. That is what we claim and are fighting for. Conditions drive us to it, and I do not see any jingoism in it.

Delegate BORTON. There are a few gems which have stood the test of centuries and one of them is "Property is the creature of society." Is there any member of this convention who dare deny that fact? We "reassert the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Is not that the very thing which this convention is called upon to lay down a plan to obtain? Those expressions are not jingoism. They are gems which the founders of this Republic established, and they will remain as gems as long as the human race exists. And it seems to me as though this platform as it has been drawn up by the Committee on Platform and Resolutions fully and completely expresses the sentiment of every true revolutionary Socialist.

Delegate REID. I think with Comrade Curran, that there are some

parts of the platform that might be dropped out. From the remarks of Comrade De Leon I take it for granted that this credit to the founders of the American Republic is to put some sails on the ship with which we are to catch the ears and the attention of the working class. I think that words about holding certain sentiments in common with the founders of the Republic is unnecessary for a real propaganda movement. I think the first line about the founders of the Republic is unnecessary for any tangible results, if these words—"With the founders of the American Republic"—are used simply as expressions of Americanism in place of the international idea of Socialism. Agitators of the Socialist Labor Party will not, possibly, quote Franklin. For instance, German comrades who go out upon the stump are not very fond of quoting the founders of the American Republic. They have certain persons of their own nationality who hold in common the same things, whose utterances supply them with brilliant quotations, and they use them. So with the Irish comrades and different nationalities. Those of the comrades who are born in this country undoubtedly do use extensively those sayings of the founders favorable to our preamble. But as far as the platform is concerned, I see no necessity to speak of the historical importance, the historical significance, of the actions of those men, and I think it might as well be stricken from the platform, and for the purpose of bringing it down to business, I move to strike out "re" before "asserts" and to strike out "inalienable" in the second line of the first paragraph; strike out, "With the founders of the American Republic," in the first line of the second paragraph; and strike out, "With the founders of this Republic" in the first line of the third paragraph.

Amendment to the amendment seconded.

Delegate Spettel stated that he endorsed the sentiments of Delegate Curran thoroughly, and, as representing Section St. Paul, assigned to Curran his time.

Delegate CURRAN. I want to explain what I mean by "jingoism." I stand behind those declarations as well as any comrades here, but I think we have developed sufficiently in intelligence, and I think that the working class or wage workers to whom we have to appeal, and whom we expect to gain to the support of our movement, have moved ahead sufficiently to get above appeals to the founders of the American Republic. Most of the wage workers of this country are religious and we might put a tinge of religionism in our platform [applause], but who would propose it? So long as we hold people down to such ideas, that we must cater to their feelings, just so long do we simply win to ourselves persons who can be carried off by similar arguments or similar appeals by others who are a little more audacious in their propositions than we are, a little more unscrupulous. The question is— it has often been brought out—as to whether you can catch more flies with vinegar or more with molasses. I at one time told a person that it was impossible to proceed on a plan of catching flies with vinegar, instead of molasses, and he retorted that he didn't think very much of flies caught with vinegar. But as De Leon has often illustrated, we

are not out to catch flies, and consequently we are not dealing molasses to the wage workers in our platform. I think we have got far enough to put it plainly and boldly before them and take another step towards putting our Party in the position of presenting a platform that finally puts everything on a strict international basis, something to which we have got to develop in future and we might as well move towards it. [Applause.]

Delegate BOLAND. Socialists must leave the past alone, and look to the future. The cries used by our forefathers were very good in their day, but the past belongs to the past, and we must face the future on new issues, issues strictly proletarian, and leave everything that is bourgeois to the bourgeois class. I believe thoroughly in this profound sentiment that was expressed in this platform in appreciating the early work of our forefathers. They endeavored to, and did no doubt plant in America here the ablest and finest government possible in that day. But we are on another mission. We are on a mission to organize the working class of the world—"Workingmen of all countries, unite." And for that reason we must put ourselves, as Comrade Curran has said, upon an international basis, leaving the past alone and bidding it good-bye, and placing our platform upon the strict plane of science. Our movement is passing through that stage to-day; we are leaving all sentiment, nonsense and trash in the rear; we are based on scientific facts and determined to carry them to their legitimate end.

Here a motion to adjourn was lost.

A motion to suspend the rule requiring adjournment at 12 o'clock, and continue the debate, was carried.

Delegate Sweeny (N. Y.) assigned his time to Delegate Dalton.

Delegate DALTON. I rise to speak to the amendment. I rise to answer the argument that to me appears superficial and yet may carry some weight not only in the minds of those who are all ballast, but in the minds of some of our men who, by tradition, by environment, by every thought and aspiration, should grasp the truth that Marx laid down, viz., the proletariat of each country must first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie. When the delegates say that we must have an international platform, why they do the same thing as the Waylandites' "Appeal to Nonsense," and the rest of them when they go up in the air and frame co-operative commonwealths in the clouds. Leave the past behind, has been suggested here. Yes, we will leave parts of it behind, we will cut off the dead limbs; but you cannot leave the past behind unless you wipe out the memory of man. You cannot leave the records of class struggle behind. How could you go before the people of this country and say there is a class struggle and then attempt to point it out? We do not make it, we do not frame it, it grows out of our historic conditions. And the objection intended to be raised by this amendment, striking out "With the founders of the American Republic we hold"—didn't the founders of the American Republic say that they held that? Must we come here and say, because that truth has once been enunciated by American men, fighting

for American liberty, as they saw it, that we will reject it, discard it, and take from them any credit for having said it? It would be the same as to say, We will not utter what Shakespeare said, because he said it. It is not plagiarism, it is living up to our times and living up to our country and acting in accordance with good, common sense. [Applause.] "We re-assert the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It has been intended by one of these amendments or by some of the arguments to cut that out. When men speak of rights, they imply the power to carry that right into action. We do assert the inalienable right of all men to these rights, and we hold, as sensible men, as members of a fighting, scientific Party, we hold that we must organize the working class so they will exercise the power that lies latent in them, not only to assert that right, but to enforce that right. We assert it to-day; when we have the working class in line, we will enforce it—the right to life and all that thereby is implied, the right to liberty, real liberty, and the right, not only to the pursuit of happiness, as a fellow delegate said, not only to pursue it and give it a start, but the right to catch happiness and hold it.

So far, it appears to me, there have been no objections to cutting off the immediate demands; it has been well stated by both sides to this debate why they should be cut off. But to attempt to say that, because some one a hundred years ago, some men who were battling to establish the triumph of their class and who in their mind's eye saw the whole people belonging to that class, because they held that and believed that the day would come when each and every member of society could be bourgeois, to attempt to cut that off and say we are jingoistic and appealing to patriotic feelings—no, no, that is not appealing to patriotic feelings in the sense of appealing to the class patriotism of the capitalists. We do appeal to the patriotic feelings of the proletariat, and when our agitators speak on the stump, they always point out what our patriotism means. We say there are two nations, the nation of exploiters, nation of murdering, robbing, capitalist class, and nation of the proletariat, and we call on the working class to be patriotic. To be patriotic is to love your country, is it not? We call on them to take possession not only of the government, but to use it as a club against the capitalist class and take possession of the country, and then they can be patriotic, they can love the *patria*, and that is what we appeal to them for.

He who says we are appealing to outworn prejudices—why you cannot frame the English language without using the words laid down by these founders, the words already uttered by them. That they applied to their condition at that time merely means that the great principle of liberty for man, woman and child finds expression in every age and in every time. I appeal to you, fellow delegates, to uphold this platform, to support the report of the committee. I tell you this platform, explained by our agitators, makes the work ten times easier for them than if you went to work and cut this out, and then went before the working people, who look to us for guidance to-day, who have heard us for four years say: "We are not freaks, we do not hit

the pipe, we do not go up in the air." What would we say to these men? Now, if you cut it out, and say, These last four years we have not meant it; it was true that we claimed "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" was "inalienable," but we found out that we did not mean it [laughter]; we are like the Debserie, we cannot be the same thing for six months at one time. [Applause.]

No, no, we cannot afford to do that. We claim to be scientific Socialists, to know what scientific means, to be matter-of-fact, practical Socialists, and we have got to stand by that. If we attempt to cope with freaks in manoeuvres and lightning changes, we will find, as Comrade Curran said in regard to appeals to the feelings, that they can outdo us there. Which would you rather have: competition between us and the capitalists to see who could uphold the revolutionary traditions of this country, the greatest and the best as far as the working class is concerned, the greatest and the best and most glorious government that ever has been established, and by the best men that ever lived, competition to uphold and point to Franklin and Adams? Or would you rather have competition between us and the Debserie and the Kangaroos to see who could be the will down them, but let us have the competition with the Debserie and the Kangaroos and they will outdo us, and I would be glad that they would. I would like to see us go down, if we attempted it.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts

certain ends. Do we or do we not hold that the capitalist class has deprived us of them? Of course we do.

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right.

Does it militate anything against our declaration that those words are in there? We must appeal to the traditions of the people, we must appeal to that spirit, to the historic events of a country. If we hold that, the fact that Franklin and Henry and Adams and the rest of them held it does not at all militate against it. They were fighters in their time, just as earnest, honest, as rugged and as great cranks as we are.

As to the objections to the rest of it, the delegate from Detroit claims that the class struggle is not stated with sufficient distinctness in it. I cannot find it. It seems to teem with the class struggle. We must rid ourselves, if we are going to be a practical, fighting Party, of the professorial, doctrinaire notion, that, if we happen in America to touch on some theme that may appeal to the spirit of the people, that may rally to us the support of the people, we are deviating from the straight line of Marxian Socialism. There are no firmer upholders of Marxian doctrines than those who have debated on this side of the question, but there is such a thing as running Marxism into the ground, being more Marxian than Karl Marx himself. [Applause.] No, I hope that the delegates will not be carried away by any fear of appearing jingoistic. I hope they will remember that we are living in the United States of America. I hope that the delegates will remem-

ber that we have a mission to perform in the United States and that, after we have established our class in the places of power in America, after we have taken hold of that weapon, the government, and finished wielding it over the head of the Pig, then there will be time to frame an international platform and give warning to all people that the affairs of the American working class are now the affairs of the world and we are ready to attend to that. But until that time, let us take care of our own problem first.

Delegate Kinneally assigned his time to Delegate Simpson.

Delegate SIMPSON. I consider it very unkind and ungracious on the part of Comrades Dalton and De Leon to say that I at any time mentioned that the founders of this Republic aimed at the oppression of the working people. That was a word and a phrase that I never used. I consider to put this in my mouth was as ungracious as it was on the part of De Leon to say that such opinions as I have expressed here on this platform ultimately lead to Kangarooism. If I were inclined to argue in the same line I could much more readily prove that such things as he has expressed here lead to Debsism, much more readily so, for he has stated practically here that we have got to trim ourselves to the general opinions of the people who are not yet with us. If we adopt a platform for political effect—

Delegate DALTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The delegate has stated that Comrades Dalton and De Leon have put words into his mouth which he has not uttered. The utterance of the delegate is on record. I would like to have the record looked into and see if he made any such statements, and, if so, now is the time to retract them. We will know what point of departure we have in this debate.

Delegate SIMPSON. I am perfectly willing to have the record looked into.

Delegate CURRAN. Comrade Dalton makes a point of order that is entirely out of order. As to what delegates have said in quoting other delegates, the making of a point of order is entirely improper. For the same reason it might be applied to every one here and to no one more than Comrade Dalton. It is absurd.

The CHAIRMAN. Comrade Simpson will proceed, and if there is any thing wrong it can be rectified at the close of the debate.

Delegate SIMPSON. I say, Mr. Chairman, that at no time did I say that the founders of the Republic aimed consciously at the oppression of the working people. That was not aimed at any time by any revolutionary class. Every revolutionary class—and the founders of this Republic were revolutionary—always maintained that they stood up for the rights of the whole people, just as we to-day say the same thing, the only difference being that while we stand for the whole people, the working people, those people never stood for the working people. The founders of this Republic—if you go through the list, you will see—were great land-owners or great financiers or a combination of both. That is the fact recorded by history. These men naturally had to act according to their class instincts, and knowingly or unknowingly, consciously or unconsciously, worked for the capitalist class. I never said that their purpose, as De Leon put it, was to oppress the

working people. Comrade De Leon further stated that the resolutions which are to be cut off—with which I agree—were a navel string which connected our revolutionary Party to the old conditions. Now, I will say that these very sentences which I want to strike out were a navel string to connect us with the old ideas of the revolutionary fathers, and to prove this I will quote to Comrade De Leon and the other delegates what the comrade himself has translated from Engels. In this pamphlet—"The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science"—Engels says:

Modern Socialism presents itself under two aspects. Practically, it is the result of the recognition of the class antagonisms existing in society to-day, and of the anarchy prevailing in production.

But, he says—

In its theoretical form—

That is, in the way people understand the Socialist movement—

Modern Socialism, in its beginning, originally appears ostensibly—

Not so in fact, but only ostensibly—

As a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century.

Now, what is it that we do here? We extend more logically the principles laid down by the founders of this Republic, principles which they had in common with the French philosophers.

Like every new theory, modern Socialism had at first to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in economic, material facts.

That is just what we did in this platform four years ago, and that is just what I want to see eliminated. We are not compelled to connect ourselves to the intellectual stock-in-trade of the bourgeois revolution of a hundred years ago. Comrade De Leon has mentioned the necessity as to Comrade Meyer taking the word "democracy" in its historical meaning, not in the dictionary way, or as a doctrinaire or professor. That is just what I say. All these quotations from the revolutionary fathers have an historic meaning and you cannot take it away from them. When they spoke of "equality," they spoke of bourgeois equality before the law as individuals. You cannot get away from the fact that when they spoke of "the pursuit of happiness," they spoke of the right of acquiring property, bourgeois property, and they knew of no other form of property, and so forth and so on. It is just I who stick to the historic meaning of terms. It is just De Leon and the others who have in fact put into these terms a meaning which they want put into them, or we might put into them, but which they never had.

Comrade De Leon has mentioned the connection in which Franklin said this and that. He has not denied that the meaning of Franklin's sentence was just as I have said. He cannot deny it. It had no other meaning whatever. I believe if we want to adopt a platform for political effect, then we should do just this very thing the committee proposes, but then we should do it consciously, we should not deceive ourselves that we are laying down, as Comrade Sanial professes, in a broad, generalized form the best Socialist science of the day. If

we aim at a Socialist platform which embodies the best Socialist knowledge of the day, then we have got to work away from these historic phrases, which have their historic meaning and the meaning of which we cannot change. The mention of Adams which Comrade De Leon brought up here just proves my point. What Adams says shows what was done by "democracy," he showed the bourgeoisie that their exploitation of workmen in their "free" form was much more than the old form of exploitation under serfdom. But it is the same, on the other hand, as the capitalists said to the feudal barons; just the same way the Northern people talked to the South or the way the South talked to the North. The South showed that the Northern wage-slave is in exactly the same condition as the chattel slave, that there is no difference, except in the one case I buy a slave by the day and in the other I buy him for a life-time. That was the assertion of the slave-owner of the South. This doesn't at all affect what I have said.

To say that the French and American revolutions were absolutely distinct, that no point of equality is found, is just as exaggerated as it is to say that they are exactly the same. In a ten-minute speech I could not go into all of this, but the essential features were the same, no matter whether there was or was not a working class existing in America at the time of the Revolution, and even as to this it can be shown that there were a large number of the working class floating around, that there were bond laborers, white men, really, practically slaves for a number of years. All this can be pointed out and cannot be denied. I wish to come back to that question of patriotism mentioned here. I did not refer to the question of jingoism or patriotism or anything of that sort. What I want is to see this platform in accordance with our principles as taught in our best literature. I have far more respect for the revolutionary fathers of Socialism than for the revolutionary fathers of the American Revolution. [Applause.] I wish to say that, and I will by no means be less American than Comrade Dalton, though he was born here, or Comrade De Leon, who came here at a less age than I. I honor the founders of this Republic, as I am ready to honor the founders of any progressive movement, but we must take these things in their historical limitations. We must not adopt the cries of the Anabaptists because they practiced communism, a communism entirely distinct from our own. It was also said by Comrade Dalton that it was good four years ago and therefore it is good now. I wish to point out that eight years ago we were pure and simplers, or supported them, and now we have given them up and adopted a progressive policy against the old trades unionism. On the same line, it might be said we must never improve, for the reason the enemy is going to say that four years ago you said something else. If four years ago we said something wrong, let us change it.

Delegate Dalton protested that Delegate Simpson had misquoted him.

Delegate Dinger then made a motion, seconded, that the rules be suspended; that the vote be taken on the amendment to the amendment, and that, previous to taking the vote, Delegate Sanial

be allowed his five minutes in which to close. The result of the viva voce vote being in doubt, the vote was taken by show of hands, with the following result: for, 35; against, 31.

Delegate SANIAL. Mr. Chairman, I see that the convention desires to come to an end on this matter, and I shall hardly use the five minutes allotted to me in which to close the discussion. I think, in fact, almost everything that needs to be said on the question has been already said. There is only one point which does not seem to have struck the delegates generally. For instance, it has been a question of the praise of the founders of the Republic in the platform. I think rather that what can be seen in it is a criticism of the founders. They attempted to establish a democracy, and finally, by their bourgeois spirit, establishing also the foundations of capitalism, brought about the birth of plutocracy. They practically made impossible their declaration. Now, if you go back to Marx, you find that his whole theme is an exposure of the contradictions of the system, and these are the very contradictions which are pointed out by the platform. The so-called fathers of the Republic, who certainly spoke honestly—for we must admit, as a rule, that men speak honestly when they see above their heads the rope with which they are to be hanged—these men had certainly in their mind what they said, they spoke it honestly. But they were, of course, impressed, as Comrade De Leon has stated, with the idea that on such a vast continent there were natural opportunities for everybody. The modern system of production had not developed, and it was impossible to predict what would happen, what happened later on. At that time it was actually possible for men to enjoy the pursuit of happiness under the form of democracy which they dreamed of. We now have the established capitalist system, and from that developed the plutocracy. We take historically the development of this country. We start from the Republic of one hundred and twenty-four years ago, when that declaration was made. There is no jingoism in that. People have spoken of science. Well, history is science. [Applause.] We take this Republic at its start one hundred and twenty-four years ago, and we compare that Republic with the Republic of now, when the plutocracy exists and when all those prophecies or dreams of the founders of the Republic are found to have dropped into nothingness. So I do not see that there is in that platform any jingoism or any desire to praise the founders of the Republic or anything of that sort. As I said before, the question has been fully debated. All the arguments for and against have been presented, and the intelligence of this convention may be fully trusted to give its vote in accordance with the development of the Socialist idea of this country.

A standing vote was then taken on the amendment (Reid's) to the amendment. Lost, with 10 voting in the affirmative.

A standing vote was then taken on the amendment (Simpson's). Lost, with 3 voting in the affirmative.

A standing vote was then taken on the platform as submitted

by the Committee on Platform. Carried, with 68 voting in the affirmative and 2 in the negative.

Delegate Brown made a motion, seconded, that the roll-call be held on the original motion. Carried.

Delegate De Leon made a motion, seconded, that the roll-call be held on the amendment to the amendment and on the amendment. Carried.

The roll-call was then taken and the amendment to the amendment was rejected by the following vote:

Ayes—Marx, O'Fihelly, John Sweeney, Spettel, Connolly, Mende, Matthews, Curran, Reid, Minkley.

Nays—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Kretlow, Richards, Schmutz, Stevens, Carney, McKeown, Noonan, Schugel, Wolfson, Malloney, Raasch, Hess, Meyer, Bilsbarrow, Glanz, Carless, Bakke, Moore, Brown, De Leon, Forker, Hickey, Katz, Schulberg, Keinard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Simpson, Teche, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Gidley, Boland, Alexander, Lake, Stowe, Crimmins, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Luedecke, Reinstein, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Dinger, Fish, Wismer, Herriger, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Jacobson, Vardy, Kroll MacTier, Dalton.

Absent—Rose, Jenness, Lyngard, Wilson, McGarry, Murphy, Vogt, Gray, Reilly.

Ayes, 10; *nays*, 64; *absent*, 9.

The roll-call was then taken on the amendment, which was rejected by the following vote:

Ayes—Spettel, Simpson, Lake.

Nays—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Marx, Kretlow, Richards, Schmutz, Stevens, Carney, McKeown, Noonan, Schugel, Wolfson, Malloney, Raasch, Hess, O'Fihelly, John Sweeney, Meyer, Bilsbarrow, Glanz, Carless, Connolly, Mende, Bakke, Moore, Brown, De Leon, Forker, Hickey, Katz, Schulberg, Keinard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Teche, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Gidley, Boland, Alexander, Stowe, Crimmins, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Luedecke, Reinstein, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Dinger, Matthews, Fish, Wismer, Herriger, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Jacobson, Vardy, Curran, Kroll, Reid, MacTier, Minkley, Dalton.

Absent—Rose, Jenness, Lyngard, McGarry, Willson, Murphy, Vogt, Gray, Reilly.

Ayes, 3; *nays*, 71; *absent*, 9.

The roll-call was then taken on the original motion, which was adopted with the following vote:

Ayes—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Marx, Kretlow, Richards, Schmutz, Stevens, Carney, McKeown, Noonan, Schugel, Wolfson, Malloney, Raasch, Hess, O'Fihelly, John Sweeney, Bilsbarrow, Lyngard, Glanz, Carless, Connolly, Mende, Bakke, Moore, Brown, De Leon, Forker, Hickey, Katz, Schulberg, Keinard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Simpson, Teche, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Gidley, Boland, Alexander, Stowe, Crimmins, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Luedecke, Reinstein, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Dinger, Matthews, Fish, Wismer, Herriger, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Jacobson, Vardy, Curran, Kroll, Reid, MacTier, Minkley, Dalton.

Nays—Lake, Meyer.

Absent—Rose, Jenness, Willson, McGarry, Murphy, Vogt, Gray, Reilly.

Not Voting—Spettel.

Ayes, 72; *nays*, 2; *not voting*, 1; *absent*, 8.

The following resolutions were then read and referred to the committees named.

Resolution of Section Mesa County, Colo., as to nominations for public office, and resolution of Delegate Kircher as to S. T. & L. A. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate Schade on *Daily People*. Referred to Committee on Party Press.

At 1.30 p. m. the convention took a recess till 2.30 p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention called to order at 2.30 p. m.

A newspaper announcement was then read to the convention stating that Signor Rondani, who was sentenced by the Italian government to an imprisonment of three and a half years for participation in the so-called Milan riots, and who is editor of the Party's Italian organ, *Il Proletario*, and who is also a delegate to this convention, had just been elected to the Italian Parliament.

Thereupon, on motion of Delegate Schade, the National Secretary was instructed to draw up a letter of congratulations to the comrades of Italy upon Rondani's election.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Platform was then resumed.

Upon motion of Delegate Schade, it was decided to postpone the discussion of the Municipal Programme until Wednesday morning after the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that each delegate be provided in the meantime with a copy of the Municipal Programme.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS.

Chairman Sanial, on behalf of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, made the following recommendation, which was adopted:

That this convention instructs the National Executive Committee to issue, for the purposes of this Presidential campaign, a carefully prepared address, reviewing critically the present economic and political conditions, and historically the economic and political events through which, in the natural course of capitalist development, these conditions have been brought about. In this document shall be tersely considered the present state of social anarchy, as shown by the stupendous strikes of the past few years, and their murderous suppression, the concentration of capital, the policy of territorial expansion, etc., etc. It shall have in view to supply not only the wage-working people, but especially the speakers of the S. L. P., with summary but very

clear statements of the position of the S. L. P. on all questions of importance, including the false issues upon which the capitalist and middle class parties—Republican, Democratic, Populist, Debsite, Kangaroo, etc.—may attempt to sidetrack the wage-working voters; so that the work of agitation and education may be conducted by the agitators of the Party throughout the country along the same well-defined and clear-cut lines.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions also recommended the adoption of the following resolution, prepared and read by Delegate Hickey, as follows:

BULL PEN RESOLUTION.

Whereas, On April 29, 1899, the concentrator of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mine, located at Kellog, Shoshone County, Idaho, was blown up with dynamite; and,

Whereas, The Socialist Labor Party has produced evidence conclusively proving that the Standard Oil Company, a band of capitalists who have been convicted in the courts of the State of New York of blowing up opposition oil refineries, and the crime of burning other rival refineries in Pittsburg, Pa., has been traced to their doors; and,

Whereas, This latest crime of the Standard Oil Company was committed for the purpose of smashing the miners' organization in Shoshone County, Idaho, whose members were turning to our Party, the principles of which were being taken up by the miners and finding expression in sections organized in the towns of Burke and Mullan; and,

Whereas, To accomplish their ends, to wit, a smashed union and a disfranchised proletariat, they blew up the concentrator, placed the county under martial law, erected a filthy Bull Pen, surrounded it with colored soldiers, and murdered Mike Devine, after refusing him the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church, and insulted the miners' women and children; and,

Whereas, The Standard Oil Company's crime was aided and abetted by Gold-Standard Republican President McKinley, Free-Silver Bryanite Governor Steunenberg, Silver-Republican State Auditor Sinclair, and the Populist Governor Smith of Montana, plus complacent judges, federal and otherwise, of all parties; and,

Whereas, The so-called leaders of labor, Gompers, Kennedy, Boyce, Coates, *et al.*, by voice, pen and otherwise through their respective organizations the A. F. of L., the Western Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Social Democratic Party, have assisted the Standard Oil criminals and thus stamped their pure and simple organizations as death-traps for the proletariat and their leaders as red-handed assassins of the working class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party calls upon our comrades in the West to strain every nerve to building up a powerful miners' organization of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, so that the miners in their future conflicts may be protected by the sheltering guns of a Socialist legislature; and be it further

Resolved, That attention be called by our comrades to the notable fact that the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. are the only organizations that have fought for the miners imprisoned in the Bull Pen, all other organizations proving themselves too cowardly to face the forces of the capitalist government.

Delegate Meyer moved to adopt the resolution. Seconded.

Delegate Hickey spoke in support of his resolution as follows:

Delegate HICKEY. I have a particular reason for the reading of this resolution here and now. We are now a regular, fighting, up-to-date, political Party. We are a recognized factor in American politics and as the years go on until we storm the citadel of the capitalist government, we will be more and more a factor. Now, being a full-fledged

political Party, entering upon a Presidential campaign, it is necessary that we have a good campaign cry, and to my mind I can imagine of no better cry than the cry of "Remember the Bull Pen." I would like that, when the delegates leave this convention and go back to their respective constituents, they send up on all sides that cry, "Remember the Bull Pen." And mind you, when we send out that cry, we are the only people who are entitled to do so, from the fact that from the moment the Standard Oil Company, through its agents, blew up the concentrator, from that time to this, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, as the record shows, are the only organizations that have taken up the issue of the imprisoned miners. What a tale that tells for "pure and simpledom"! What a tale that tells for the old-line organizations of labor in America! What a tale that tells for the S. L. P., only an infant in the West and in that northwestern portion of the nation! Let us take hold of the situation and use it to the best of our ability for the furtherance of our own propaganda and for the assistance of the miners in Shoshone County, Idaho. Within the last three weeks the Western Federation of Miners have met. They are "pure and sumplers." "Pure and simplers" up to a certain stage are progressive. Sometime ago they endorsed the Party, but if they do not keep on and come into the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, they have to slump back. That is what they have done in Denver on the 14th of May. They passed ridiculous resolutions that all the labor organizations of the nation are to come together in one organization. I cannot imagine our friends De Leon, Sanial, and Stanislaus Cullen coming together with Debs and others and wanting a harmonious organization. [Applause.] That is all they have learned after all the experience they have made. And although that concentrator was dynamited on the 29th of April, it was not until the 18th day of October that we got one of their men to say that the Standard Oil Company did the act. We, in fact, have had to force the fight from the beginning to the end. For all these reasons, I believe that, as those resolutions say, the only thing for us to do is to get our comrades over in Frisco, from Los Angeles down across the slope, through Oregon, Seattle, Washington, Idaho, and Montana—wherever there are miners—that we should do our utmost to build up the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and to smash everything else that is not along that line [applause]; that is the only hope for these miners. Therefore, I would like to see the resolution go through now, so that the western comrades, in particular, may carry back that message to the western country, and the comrades of all parts of the country may move out and proclaim that cry, "Remember the Bull Pen," and tell the story of the Bull Pen and all that flows from it.

Delegate REINSTEIN. Hickey omitted one of the rogues' gallery in his resolution—that is, the name of Eugene V. Debs.

Delegate HICKEY. That was a slip of mine; I will insert it.

Delegate SIMPSON. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that one of the most remarkable facts connected with this affair was the systematic suppression of news throughout the country. For months we did not know what was going on there, and I believe that in this connection it is well to point out to the American workingmen the necessity of a

Socialist daily paper that shall proclaim such an affair at once right along to the working class of the nation. I believe the National Executive Committee should be instructed in connection with this resolution to call on the working people to support a paper that will make the suppression of news concerning the perpetration of such crimes on the working people impossible in the future.

Delegate Spettel moved to amend by omitting the word "colored" before the word "soldiers."

Delegate Wolfson suggested that the word "federal" be inserted instead of the word "colored."

Delegate MACTIER. I have no objection to the word "federal" being used, but I insist on the word "colored" being kept also. In that part of the country [Virginia] where I come from, every movement towards the elevation of the white man, and the Socialist movement more especially, is retarded from the fact that the leaders of the Democratic Party there whip those fellows into line by telling them that we have got to keep the colored man down. If we can have a resolution like that, showing clearly that, while they were federal troops, they were also colored troops, we can use it as a club to smash the arguments of the Democratic Party and to help us along in our agitation.

Delegate SWEENEY of New York. In that resolution we are quoting facts, and therefore the word "colored" should stand. It is a good fact to know that the capitalist class will use colored people of the South against intelligent workingmen. The same crowd that went up San Juan Hill is the crowd they used to kill the miners at Wardner. The fact that Mike Devine died and was refused the rites of the Catholic Church is a good fact to use. It is well to know that they will attack religion or anything else to gain their point. As long as it is a fact, we should let it stand.

Delegate DINGER. I believe it is not mere accident that the capitalist class use colored troops out West to shoot down the miners. It is simply because they know that the colored men will be more ready to shoot down workingmen than the white workingmen of the United States, because of the race prejudice that exists.

Delegate DALTON. I wish to supplement the statement of Comrade Dinger. Having been at the very gateway of the Bull Pen at the time, I had a chance to observe what the feeling was. The words "scab" and "militiamen" are beginning to have the repute formerly attaching to the word "Tory." The colored troops were told that the miners were "damned white trash;" color prejudice was worked against everywhere. It was pointed out that these miners were Irish foreigners and had no use for a negro, and so on. It was pointed out that the "pure and simplers" have always endeavored to shut out the black men. It is well to point out that the capitalists are using the colored men, like the slums, to recruit their troops from to shoot workingmen.

Delegate McKEOWN. I move that the words "Roman Catholic" be eliminated and the word "his" be inserted in their place.

Delegate BROWN. I am opposed to the use of the word "colored" in this resolution. The capitalist class use that very expression to enthrone racial feeling between the blacks and the whites of this country. [Applause.]

Delegate DE LEON. I move to amend that, in place of the words "surrounded it with colored soldiers," be substituted the words: "and in pursuance of its policy of dividing the working class on the lines of color, race and religion, they sent colored troops to shoot white workingmen in the North, the same as before that they sent white workingmen to shoot colored men in the South."

This amendment will cover the sense of both sides. To use the word "colored" alone would be to imply that one objected that he had been shot by a colored man and not by a white man, and that before that he was in the wrong. A comrade says the use of colored troops was intended to aggravate the situation. I remember a strike that took place somewhere in Pennsylvania not many years ago. The men who were killed were real Americans, but their names as reported in the newspapers read just as if the men came over from Bohemia. Thus do the capitalists seek to divide the workers by working on racial and national prejudices. My amendment, however, I believe, will cover the case in question.

Motion seconded.

Delegate KUHN. I understand that this Governor Steunenberg is a member of the International Typographical Union and has therefore "pure and simple" connections. It appears to me that this might as well be pointed out. I understand that he is still an honorary member of the I. T. U.

Delegate PIERCE. I would also like to point out that John L. Kennedy is a member in good standing of Columbia Typographical Union, of Washington, D. C., and that when a desire was manifested and the attempt made on the part of certain members of that union last summer to present charges against him because of his Bull Pen attitude, Columbia Typographical Union refused to consider the charges.

Delegate SIMPSON. I believe the convention ought to be reminded that certain Democratic politicians will probably take advantage of the Bull Pen affair to point to the fact that Democratic politicians in Congress are attacking Steunenberg and McKinley, that they had an investigation forced on the Republican administration, and that they conducted this investigation in the interest of the Democratic Party. Since this is the case, it is well to show that throughout this investigation and throughout the cry that was raised by the working class against the barbarities in Idaho, Bryan never for one moment uttered a word of protest against those atrocities, that Bryan no more protested against the atrocities of Idaho than he had protested while a member of Congress against the suppression of the Chicago strike by the federal soldiers; that the record of the Democratic Party, from Bryan down to Steunenberg, was as consistent against the working class as the record of the Republican Party from McKinley down to the lowest negro soldier enrolled there. I believe this matter ought to be made as clear as it possibly can be made, for the reason that these

demagogues will no doubt in various parts of the country try to use the affair for political purposes.

Delegate MACTIER. I endorse the amendment of Comrade De Leon. We Southerners do not incite race hatred in our agitation. We have given out the story of the Bull Pen in our meetings, to show that colored men were used by the capitalists to smash white men. We wish to show the rascality of the capitalists, who spare no man, race or color, in the pursuit of their vile interests.

Delegate SWEENEY of New York. William McKinley is also a "pure and simpler." He belongs to the Bricklayers' Union of Chicago. We ought to mention that fact, too.

A delegate asserted that McKinley had been dropped from the union for non-payment of dues.

The resolution, as amended by Delegate De Leon, was thereupon adopted.

The Committees on Constitution and Attitude Towards Trade Unionism reported progress.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

The Committee on Appeals and Grievances, through its chairman, Delegate McKeown, then reported as follows:

In the charges of negligence and inactivity by Comrade O'Fihelly against the General Committee of Massachusetts, we find as follows: We have examined into the charge of inactivity and negligence of the Massachusetts General Committee, as presented by Jeremiah O'Fihelly, of Abington, Mass. After carefully going into every detail of alleged negligence and inactivity, during which we examined Comrades Schugle, of Woburn; Carney, of Holyoke; Noonan, of Springfield, and Maloney, of Winchester, State Organizer of Massachusetts, as well as going thoroughly over all the correspondence sent by Comrade O'Fihelly to Comrade Jones, of Boston, Secretary of the General Committee, we find that the matter of all the grievances, for want of sufficient evidence, cannot be sustained. We also find that the charges preferred are not of sufficient importance to warrant any action of the national convention, and can be best settled by the sections in the State.

Signed on behalf of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances,

ROBERT MCKEOWN, Chairman,
JOHN KINNEALLY, Secretary.

In the case of Jules Magnette, of Essex County, New Jersey, we find that the decision of the Board of Appeals was correct and we recommend its endorsement by the convention. The Board of Appeals declares that Jules Magnette deservedly merits suspension. In this we also concur and recommend that the case be returned to Section Essex County for legal action.

[Signed] ROBERT MCKEOWN, Chairman.
JOHN KINNEALLY, Secretary.

The convention decided to take up the two cases seriatim.

Moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee in regard to the charges of Delegate O'Fihelly against the Massachusetts General Committee be accepted.

Delegate WOLFSON. I would like to know on whose behalf O'Fihelly has preferred charges against the General Committee. On whose behalf, on what ground, are these charges before the convention?

Delegate O'FIELLY. I merely have the impression that conditions in Massachusetts are not such as they ought to be, or could be, and I had the impression that an impartial investigation by this convention would help our organization in Massachusetts.

Delegate KROLL. I do not see what connection this convention has with a committee elected by the sections of Massachusetts and what right one individual has to bring charges before this convention against a committee elected by the sections of Massachusetts. I want to know whether such charges have any place in this convention.

National Secretary KUHN. Inasmuch as this individual happens to be a delegate, they certainly do have a place. If a delegate to this convention has any grievance, if he is of the opinion that the Party is not run properly in any place, he certainly has the right to go before the proper committee to handle these things and there state his case.

Delegate CURRAN. Delegates who have charges against their local organization or local committee, should first make their charges there and have them acted upon, and not come to a national convention, where that general committee is not officially represented and has no opportunity to defend itself. Any appearance made before this Committee on Appeals and Grievances on behalf of that general committee was done purely of one's own volition, without any authority from the general committee, and consequently is not representative of it. The recommendation of the committee is, of course, proper, but I think that the recommendation should not have been arrived at without any hearing whatever.

The report of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances in this case was then accepted.

It was then moved and seconded that the report of the committee in the Jules Magnette case be accepted.

Delegate CARLESS. The Grievance Committee concurs with the National Board of Appeals, that that great man deserves suspension. But they have a copy of the by-laws of Section Essex County, N. J., wherein it says something about referring a decision to suspend a member to a referendum vote of the branches. I want the delegates of this convention to understand this: that, while it is true in those by-laws it says the matter shall be referred to a general vote of the branches, those by-laws at that time were not printed. I want also to remind you of the fact that the suspension of this Magnette took place at a time when we all had our hands full. His suspension took place not many weeks after that memorable 10th of July, and when Magnette was suspended by the county committee there was no thought of referring the case to a vote of the branches. The by-laws were not printed then. Every one was busy. The thing was overlooked, and then all of the members of that county committee were well aware of the fact that Section Greater New York, which had a general committee the same as ours, suspended members without a referendum vote, and in fact that was the reason we overlooked the matter of referring it to a general vote. We simply took it for granted that that general committee, being clothed with all the functions of a section,

had the right and the power to suspend that member. And on this ground he was suspended. It was simply a matter of form of referring it to a vote. I might state that if there had been any opposition at the general committee to the suspension of this member, if there had been one vote against his suspension, why, undoubtedly, then the question would have been raised and it would have been referred to a vote of the branches, but the fact is that not one vote was against the suspension, it was the unanimous vote of the general committee. Everybody was satisfied that the man should be suspended, that he was an enemy of the Socialist Labor Party, and he is at this day; and if this convention concurs in the recommendation of this committee, you will simply give that enemy so much satisfaction. It seems to me that Section Essex County has violated no part of the national constitution, that if Section Essex County has violated any part of the national constitution, then Section Greater New York has violated the national constitution, and I claim that if we are to be prevented from suspending a member unless the matter goes to a referendum vote, then we ought to declare here to-day against Section New York suspending members and not putting that suspension to a general vote. I hope the convention will give no satisfaction whatever to any enemy of the Socialist Labor Party, and I hope that this convention to-day will say that Section Essex County was perfectly justified in suspending that man and we overlooked this little error, in case it was an error.

Delegate McKEOWN. In the by-laws of Section Essex County, N. J., in the article on "Grievances" it is distinctly stated: "The county committee shall investigate all grievances and submit its decision to a general vote." We took into consideration that this Magnette appealed from the decision of Section Essex County to the Board of Appeals of the Socialist Labor Party. The Board of Appeals of this Party stated that, inasmuch as Jules Magnette was illegally suspended or not according to the constitution of Section Essex County, they demanded that he be reinstated, and the appeal of Section Essex County from that decision of the Board of Appeals comes up before us. We leave the matter very clearly open for Section Essex County to give the scoundrel—which I believe he is—his full dues and deserts. I might say that if this man were a member of Section Pittsfield, it would not be suspension, according to the evidence in front of us: we would have expelled him from the Party and not have him in it. But to give Section Essex County a chance to remedy their illegal action, and give the gentleman deserved punishment, we recommend that the action of the Board of Appeals be endorsed and that the matter be returned to Section Essex County again for consideration and action as they have a mind to. It leaves no loop-hole whereby Jules Magnette or any other man of his class will be allowed to remain in the Party, but it gives a deserved call-down to Section Essex County, N. J., for its negligence in performing the very laws they themselves have enacted, and at the same time gives them an opportunity to punish and punish deservedly any scoundrel of such a nature. I sincerely trust the convention will take into consideration these conditions: (1) Section Essex County acted illegally; (2) this Magnette was a little

shrewder than Section Essex County and appealed from the decision; (3) the Board of Appeals acted properly and in a constitutional manner; and (4) the Committee on Appeals and Grievances has left it now open for Comrade Carless and the members of Section Essex County to deal properly with this man. The committee concurs with me that, when a member appeals from the decision of a section or otherwise to a higher authority, he is still a member in good standing, and up to the present time this Magnette has not been punished. It gives Section Essex County, N. J., the power to punish him and the chance, and I trust that the delegates in convention now will consider this case and adopt the recommendation of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

Delegate CURRAN. It seems to me too trifling a matter for the convention to trouble itself with, but I have been directed by the Board of Appeals (of which I am secretary) to appear here in this case and sustain their position. Carless has told you that this man was an enemy of the Party, and yet Section Essex County voted simply to suspend him for six months. On the evidence submitted, it seemed to the Board of Appeals that the proper punishment for Mr. Jules Magnette was absolute expulsion, and if the Board could have seen its way, it would have liked to have passed a vote of censure on Section Essex County for not expelling him. Also parts of the Magnette case that were filed with the secretary of the county committee were not furnished, and the secretary had to admit that he had lost them. Consequently, the Board could not have passed on the merits of the case, if it had so desired. But the Board of Appeals simply based its decision on this fact: as the Board of Appeals, it is supposed to uphold the constitution. In the matter of constitutions in Rhode Island, we are not at all finicky on such things. Last July we would not have allowed any printed documents or set of rules to bind our action in any way; but when there is peace on all sides, and when our decision is liable to bring upon us censure for refusing to obey the laws of our organization, then it is time for the committee to stand straight on its rules and enforce them. And when an organization comes here and pleads guilty through negligence—its executive committee, the custodian of its rules, the executor of those rules—pleads guilty, through forgetfulness of its own rules, it gives its case away and should have no recognition by the convention. Section Essex County could, after the decision of the National Board of Appeals, have moved once more on Magnette in proper fashion, and had they done so, they would have had him out of the Party long before this convention. The Board of Appeals should be sustained, as the matter is too trivial to go on record as violating the constitution, when there is no solid reason why we should violate it. Carless has appealed to the practice of Section New York to back up their position. Section New York has a different rule. It provides when the grievance committee, after thorough investigation, reports all cases in writing, to the general committee the action of the general committee shall then be final, for Section New York confers its powers on its general committee, but Section Essex County conferred no such powers on its general committee, and such action

on the part of the general committee was a usurpation of the power of the section.

Delegate DE LEON. I understood Carless to say that Section New York has done the same thing. Curran has covered that partly, but there is one point he has not covered. Section New York considers that there is no vote needed to suspend a member pending trial. I understand that this man was sentenced to suspension. Section New York may also sentence a man to suspension, but the machinery of the Party cannot work with sufficient rapidity at times, and it is only at such times, when a good *prima facie* case is made against a man as being dangerous, endangering the organization or the subdivision to which he belongs, that he is suspended without a general vote. That is not a judgment, that suspension is simply pending trial. I consider it would be well to have it understood that that is the way we do in New York and that it is our experience and that you will have to make the same experience sometimes when your organizations become large, and crooked political parties send representatives into your midst, and you cannot wait till the grievance committee has acted and the section has acted upon that. You must begin by suspending, pending the trial; that is no judgment. Right here in Long Island City the section was taken hold of by Patrick Gleason, and he got his heelers ready to nominate him. Gleason is a Democrat, and the convention was called, and Gleason was going to be nominated that same evening. In that case our National Executive Committee proceeded to suspend the section—couldn't wait. But that suspension is no judgment; it is pending trial. That distinction should be made clear. Imagine during the 10th of July, when those men were going around crazy, backed up by capitalist politicians, labor fakirs passing resolutions in their behalf, if we had waited till Section New York or the grievance committee had met. They are working people, cannot meet during the day, cannot meet every day. If you had waited till that grievance committee had met—mind you, you have to bring the charges in writing to a meeting of the section, pass it through the grievance committee, have them sit on it and report, then have a general vote—it would have been ridiculous; they would have had our throats cut by this time. There would be harmony in the Democratic and Republican camps; the *Sun*, *Daily News*, *Journal* and *World* would be perfectly happy just now spilling ink with their absurd reports. Every man who was suspended, was tried, and then he was beheaded afterwards.

Delegate MCKEOWN. It was not a suspension pending trial. It was a trial and suspension without them finishing according to their own laws. I hold that the recommendations of the Grievance Committee ought to be adopted and let the case go back to Section Essex County, N. J., and then we can see how they will act.

The recommendation of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances in the Jules Magnette case was then adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PARTY PRESS.

The Committee on Party Press then reported, recommending—

1. That the Party maintain the *Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung* as its

official German organ, and that it be made the duty of Party organizations to give their hearty support to the same.

2. No section, member, or committee of the Party shall be permitted to publish any organ, without the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall not approve of the publication of any paper, unless all the property thereof be vested in the Party, and unless the appointment of the editor is made subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. No section, member, or committee shall support any paper except such as are approved by the Party. If any editor of such organ prove incompetent or violate the platform, constitution or resolutions of the Party, the National Executive Committee shall have power to demand from the publishers his immediate removal. Any section, member, or committee failing to comply with such demand, to be suspended by the National Executive Committee.

3. The course pursued by our national organ, *The People*, since the National Convention of 1896—its unflinching attacks on the labor fakirs, which has won for it and the Socialist Labor Party the enmity and hatred of every traitor and crook in the Labor Movement, and the regard of every honest, class-conscious wage worker; its strict adherence to the Socialist Labor Party's motto—"Never compromise truth to make a friend, and never withhold a blow at error lest we make an enemy"—has made it the target for the abuse of every feeble-minded freak and promoter of crazy and crooked colonies, so-called Socialist (?) papers and other schemes to take advantage of the growing Socialist sentiment at the expense of our class. The manly course of *The People* has resulted in the smashing of the reactionary sheets that opposed the onward march of the Socialist Labor Party, and it stands to-day the only Socialist paper in the English language in the United States, the clear-cut, stalwart fighter for the working class. We insist that *The People* continue the same course and deal ever harder blows to the enemies of the Working Class Revolution.

ALVAN S. BROWN, Secretary.

WM. S. DALTON, Secretary.

SOCIALISTISCHE ARBEITER ZEITUNG.

Delegate Dinger presented a resolution, signed by the Cleveland delegates in regard to the *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, as follows:

Whereas, The *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, our national German organ, is the most potent weapon in the hands of the Party against the lying attacks of the *Volkszeitung*, and has in the short time of its existence already done great service to the S. L. P. by exposing the misrepresentations and falsehoods of this disreputable sheet and like Kangaroos;

Whereas, The *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung* is the undisputed property of the S. L. P.; and

Whereas, Section Cleveland of the S. L. P. has undertaken the work of publishing the *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, which is at present a great strain upon that section, in so far as the paper is not yet self-supporting; and

Whereas, Many of the comrades and sections have been very derelict in giving the paper the proper support, both morally and financially; be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party, in this Tenth National Convention assembled, heartily endorses the policy of the *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, and urges upon the comrades and sections throughout the country, and points out to them, the necessity of giving their undivided support, both morally and financially, to this very effective weapon against Kangaroism.

Respectfully submitted by the delegates of Cleveland, O.

JAMES MATTHEWS.

JOHN KIRCHER.

PAUL DINGER.

Moved and seconded that the resolutions of the Cleveland delegates be substituted for the corresponding resolution of the Committee on Party Press. Carried.

The recommendations of the Committee on Party Press in regard to control, etc., of Party organs, were referred, upon vote, to the Committee on Constitution.

The resolution of the Press Committee endorsing the course of the official English organ, *The People*, was upon vote adopted.

PURITY OF THE PARTY PRESS.

Delegate Lake was then given the floor on the subject of the purity of the Party press. He said:

Delegate LAKE. It is the desire of my constituents to have the Party press pure, to have no errors creep in. One of my constituents claims there was an error crept in in regard to the parade of the Kangaroos on May 1st, and was the cause of his not contributing \$10 to the Daily People Fund that he intended to give. *The People* asserted there were only 3,000 in the parade and that it took only twenty-five minutes for the parade to pass a certain point. This comrade states that a friend of his was in New York at the time and on his return reported that the procession took two hours [laughter] and that there was quite a larger number in the parade than is stated in *The People*. I am simply giving you his statements. I do not know whether they were false or true. This same Party member was somewhat upset by another article which appeared some six months previous in regard to the Tarrytown affair. I forget the statement, but, however, one of the machinists employed in the Tarrytown works was in the General Locomotive Works, worked in the same department with this Party member, and he made the Party member believe that the statements in *The People* were false, and so that upset him also. For my part, while, as I said, I do not know whether the statements were false or true, it seems to me that the Party press should be kept as pure as possible and no false statements should be allowed to creep in, because when such an error does creep in and the Party member gets it back in the neck for fighting and saying that those things were true, why, it takes the fight out of him. As Party members, it seems to me that we should be certain and sure that the facts stated there have grounds and could be borne out, so that we can depend upon all the statements made therein, and can fight to a finish on them.

Delegate HICKEY. I believe the delegate from Schenectady ought to be ashamed of himself to come here and take up the time of this convention with the statements of some comrade received from some other man, about whom we do not know, about something that happened that nobody is at all sure about. These statements that have appeared in *The People* are correct. If you will look at the material interests at the bottom of a statement of that character, you will find that what happened to your Schenectady friend was this: he proposed to give \$10 to the *Daily People*, and then got extremely sorry for doing so. The thing should never have come up.

Delegate LAKE. What Hickey has said is simply assertion without any proof whatever. The comrade I have in mind, who made these statements and was completely upset over this matter, is a German comrade, well known to the New York members here, as he used to live here, and I will assure you that he is a sincere, faithful and hard-working member. He is one of the best and the only German comrade in Schenectady that can be counted upon for any great amount of work, and that is Comrade Eisenach. And he is not only sincere and a hard worker, but he is liberal with his money. What Comrade Hickey asserts is entirely false. He sincerely meant what he said when he spoke of contributing the ten dollars.

Delegate Dinger moved "that the editor of *The People* be allowed the floor to set himself right on the question brought up by Delegate Lake."

Delegate SCHULBERG. The editor has nothing to set himself right about.

Delegate BROWN. We have no apology to make to the capitalist press. [Great applause.] The whole matter should be dropped.

Delegate Dinger moved "that the editor of *The People* be allowed the floor to set the delegate from Schenectady right on the matter." Seconded.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, Comrade De Leon will be allowed the floor.

No objection offered.

Delegate DE LEON. I fully sympathize with the statement of Comrade Brown that we should not take any notice of the capitalist press, but I hardly think that Delegate Lake can be called the capitalist press all to himself. The reference Brown made to the capitalist press is to the point. Occasionally what the capitalist press says is worth taking notice of. I regret to see the lack of judgment on the part of the comrade here who brings up before the convention, without any authentication, a general statement, which, if it amounts to anything, implies that *The People's* report was wrong. That he in Schenectady should not know, is pardonable and common, and that he should listen to another comrade is justifiable. But if he intended to bring up a matter of this sort, why didn't he write straight to *The People* and inquire? After that, why didn't he give us some sort of information on the matter? I do not know whether the comrade he has alluded to is such a superior being or not. If I did not know him, and had heard that he was willing to give \$10 to the *Daily People*, but thereupon, when he hears from a hostile source a charge against *The People*, that he forthwith pulls back his \$10, I should say that the comrade is not worth having. That is my judgment.

As to the statements in *The People*, they were absolutely correct. It was a lie of the whole cloth in the capitalist press that there were in that parade 40,000, 60,000 and the like. At Union Square, if you pack up men close as sardines, you cannot, I do not believe, get more than 10,000 together. One of these gutter-snipe reporters reported that

there were 60,000 men on that square. They are the ones who have no respect at all for the public, and they impose upon just such people as the comrade from Schenectady to whom the comrade refers.

I had two men posted. They timed them, one from the corner of the street, the other from Union Square, and their report varied only a few minutes. As to the number that was there, I had lower figures than those given by me. It is the opinion of experts on parades that no 3,500 human souls were in that parade; it would be the most remarkable 3,500 crowd they ever saw. They marched one abreast in many cases; they had carriages, which marched along like funeral processions; there were also women, some of them marching in lumps. I think the report stated that the women were not counted, because they marched in lumps, and it was not possible to tell the skirts apart, and if you ever try to count women marching, you will know how difficult it is. The women were not counted, but it is sure there were no 40,000 women in it. I have marched—since it has been referred to here in the report of the National Executive Committee that I was a Democrat—it is true, in the campaign of 1884 I marched in the Cleveland parade, and I learned then what a crowd means. It took four hours for a parade of 40,000 to file by the stand. Elsenach and the rest of them may take other information; I cannot. I know that 40,000 people must take four hours, at least, marching ten abreast, with streets clear and a patrol of policemen ahead to keep the streets clear. Now take a little procession marching along streets occupied by railway tracks, having to cross streets intersected by railway tracks, and not marching ten abreast, but three abreast, one abreast, do you tell me that you can have more than 3,500 people going through a certain space within a certain time? That statement was absolutely true, from my best information, and it was further true because, if there had been 10,000, the capitalist press would not have lied the way they did.

They went to the other extreme. To them it was a great disappointment. There is no department in which the capitalist press is funnier or more ridiculous. I have made the point on other occasions, but I think it can be made here also with profit. If a capitalist paper wants to report a regatta, it picks out a man skilled in sailing and navigation, so he can report intelligently. If they want to report a pugilistic encounter, they pick out a specialist in that department, so that he can understand the relative qualities of the fighters; if a billiard tournament, they pick out an expert billiardist, knowing very well that none but such can give a correct report. But when the capitalist press wants to report a labor meeting, they pick out the biggest jackass they can lay hands on [great applause], and just as soon as they have ascertained the biggest jackass possible, they give him the appointment, and that jackass must win his spurs or his long ears, whatever the case may be [laughter], and consequently the capitalist papers cannot be wholly blamed. The editors know nothing about the labor movement but the information from this gentry. They say 40,000, we must whoop it up for this gang, after we gave them columns on columns on organized labor; they are on their knees before organized labor, whom they otherwise shoot in the back. So these gutter-

snipe reporters report 40,000, 50,000, 60,000, and the city editors simply accept that. Comrade Eisenach may accept that as true; I won't; and I hope that the next time when he finds that the capitalist press and the Socialist press disagree, he will at least be fair-minded and send word before he pulls back his ten dollars.

As to the matter of the machinists, that is still more serious. You realize how conflicting the news must necessarily be on the conflicts between labor and capital. You cannot have a strike but you will have conflicting statements made, and nowadays with the Alliance knocking the fakirs over the head, why these statements become still more fraudulent. The statement that appeared in *The People* was by subsequent reports to *The People* confirmed to be true absolutely. The capitalist press became "indignant" at the "scab" Alliance. I would say that if Eisenach has a thimbleful of brains, he must draw his conclusions. If the capitalist press, representatives of the exploiters, are so "indignant" about the Alliance "scabs," there must be something fishy in their position and in their statements. And so there was. I am not going here through the long story of the Tarrytown affair. The matter was given to *The People* to insert. Some one in Schenectady wrote to me. I wrote my informant. He put a letter in *The People*, with many details confirming the statement. Afterwards came the official statement of the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A. on the same subject, and more recently still appeared a full, exhaustive statement of the whole situation by the Alliance Board of the United Metal Workers, confirming everything that was then in *The People*. Upon this point, I would recommend to Lake as well as to others to be careful how they praise a man who might otherwise be very good, but whose mind must be so very weak when he can, upon the statement of the capitalist exploiters, without inquiring, without any further ado, believe statements against the Party press.

The People tells the truth. It cannot be infallible. If Eisenach were the editor of *The People*, I am sure that he would make a good many blunders—who is infallible?—and we have not time always to verify everything. But if a statement absolutely false as it stands, slips in, if that statement is corrected subsequently, the correction will be inserted in *The People*, and such insertions have been inserted [Applause.] But they must be sent, and what is more, besides being sent to *The People*, they will have to be verified, and found true or false. If the statement is sent and verified and found to be correct, that correction goes into *The People*, because *The People* understands that it has a reputation to lose, and how well the reputation of *The People* stands for truth is shown by the way it has stood its ground despite the bucketfuls and storms of libel that have been hurled at its head. No one can claim infallibility. All one can claim is to have reached that stage of civilization which characterizes the man and the gentleman, that, if you have made a mistake and found out that you have made a mistake, that you correct it, and it is only in proportion as a paper or a man has the manhood and character to do that, that he can otherwise be believed. And I would ask you to take this statement home: if you see anything in *The People* that seems to you in-

correct, send down the facts; they will be verified and if found to be true, they will be put in.

A VOICE. Why don't you mention the fact that the reporters of the capitalist press meet every night in the *Volkszeitung* office and exchange news?

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The Auditing Committee, through its chairman, Delegate Petersen, then reported having examined the books of the National Secretary and the books of the Treasurer of the National Executive Committee; that these books had been properly kept; that they had been properly audited, and that the figures and statements submitted to the delegates of the convention corresponded with the figures in the books. The committee recommended that the statement be accepted as rendered. Adopted.

INVITATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

Delegate Sanial read a translation of the invitation of the General Committee of the Socialist Party of France to the Socialists of the world to attend the International Socialist Congress to be held in Paris September 23 to 27, said committee having in charge the arrangements for the congress. Delegate Sanial prefaced his reading of the translation by the following remarks:

Delegate SANIAL. I received yesterday, and I understand that De Leon has also received, a circular from the General Committee of the Socialist Party of France, which has charge of the arrangements for the International Congress to be held in Paris in September of this year. I have translated it, and will read the translation I have made. I might preface it, for better understanding of it, with a little historical statement. The London Congress of 1896 was very much disturbed by the Anarchists, as you know, and before adjourning, it constituted its permanent bureau, which was to take charge of calling an international congress either in 1899 in Germany, or in France (Paris) in 1900—that is, if the German comrades found themselves unable for political and other reasons to hold that congress in their own country. The German comrades, finding themselves unable to take charge of that great congress, notified the French comrades that they would have to take charge of it.

The situation in France was peculiar. What is called the Socialist Party there was at that time and still is to some extent divided into what they call "fractions." The existence of those fractions may be traced also historically. In 1871, at the time of the Commune, the movement was somewhat muddle-headed. It was purely revolutionary, and there existed only one vast mass of so-called Socialists, marching under the direction of the famous revolutionist, Blanqui. After 1871 there was a reign of terror, which for many years prevented any manifestation of Socialist organization on the part of the workmen.

Slowly, however, the French workingmen recovered some of their liberty, to the extent that in 1884 a law was passed authorizing the formation of trade unions. Then the Socialist parties began to organize. First, of course, came the Blanquists. But, in the meantime, there had been the beginning of a Marxist organization, composed of such students as Guesde and Lafargue, which tried first to educate the masses before they entered into any sort of action whatever. They had come to understand that a revolution never rises above the intellectual level of those who make it, and that, in order to make that revolution, as they stated it, it was necessary that it should first be made in the heads and in the hearts of the workingmen. [Applause.] There were others, however, who did not take kindly to the hard teachings of the Marxist doctrine, and who simply tried to get, in the manner of our "pure and simplers," what they could get for the present. These were the "Possibilists." At any rate, five fractions, not differing, if you like, in their general desires for improvement, but differing greatly in their degree of knowledge, constituted themselves and marched under the banner of certain leaders—the Blanquists under Vaillant, the Guesdists or Marxists under the leadership of Jules Guesde and Lafargue, the Broussists or Possibilists under the guidance of Brousse and Alleman—who separated so as to form the Allemanists and the Broussists; then, came later, the "Intellectuals," led by Jaures, who formed the Independent Socialists. Among those Independent Socialists was then Millerand, who to-day is in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet. There they were, those five, not "factions," but "fractions"—the Guesdists, the Blanquists, Allemanists, the Broussists, and the Independent Socialists. The Marxists made rapid advance. To-day in that great Department of the North, which is the greatest manufacturing department of France, they cast a majority of the votes, and in many parts of the country they have established a movement which is as solid, and perhaps, to some extent, more vigorous even than the German Social Democracy of Germany.

These fractions felt the necessity of coming together, and at the time the French Socialists were given by the Germans the task of organizing the Congress of 1900, or, rather, were compelled to take this in charge, on account of the impossibility of the Germans taking it, there was already what is called a "comite d'entente," a "committee of good understanding." This committee of good understanding finally brought about a general national congress of the five fractions, and this congress was held early this year. There they had practically the same trouble that we have here with the press. When the Independent Socialists established themselves, they were men of great intellectual power. They were great writers. But as soon as they proclaimed themselves Socialists, it was impossible even for them to get access to the columns of the capitalist papers. Yet the capitalists will willingly speculate in anything, and as they found that there was a tremendous Socialist movement, they thought that Socialist papers would pay, and they started such papers as *La Petite Republique* and *La Lanterne*, or bought *La Lanterne*, and placed those intellectual men in possession of the columns

of those papers. But these men wanted to be leaders; they did not want to be led by the movement itself; they wanted to lead the movement, and in their desire to get ahead and to take possession of the public powers in their own names, they actually pushed Millerand to the Ministry, and in that violated one of the most sacred principles of Socialism. [Applause.] So that, at that congress, one of the most important questions was the question of the press. And it was decided then to practically compel all those papers to place themselves under the direction of the General Committee, which had been established by the congress, and if any of those papers does not place itself under that direction, then of course it is repudiated as a Socialist paper. And they all said at that time that this was only the beginning of a movement for the complete possession of the Socialist press by the Socialist Party. [Applause.] Now, with these explanations I have given you, I hope to make this circular more readily understood.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

Citizens and Comrades—The Socialist Agreement Committee, which in the course of the year 1899 brought together the five national organizations that are the constituent parts of the whole French Socialist Party, has already addressed to you a circular stating its reasons for calling a preliminary international conference in relation to the next International Congress.

This conference, held at Brussels on the 27th and 28th of May, 1899, adopted the resolutions hereinafter published, which were subsequently accepted by the five aforesaid organizations. Since then the Socialist Agreement Committee has transferred its powers to the General Committee established by the French Socialist Congress of December, 1899. It is therefore upon the General Committee that the duty now devolves of notifying you that the next International Socialist Congress shall be held in Paris in September, 1900, from the 23d to the 28th, inclusive.

This congress is the fifth in chronological order since the proletariat of the two worlds decided to periodically resume its grand assizes, its four predecessors having been the Double Congress of Paris in 1889, the Brussels Congress of 1891, the Zurich Congress of 1893, and the London Congress of 1896, at each of which the strength of the workers organized on the basis of the class struggle manifested itself with increasing unity, coherence, and vigor.

Before its adjournment, the London Congress had intrusted a permanent bureau with the power to call the next Congress, under certain conditions, clearly defined, either in Germany in 1899, or in France in 1900 if (as proved the case), our German comrades were prevented by insuperable obstacles from making the necessary arrangements in their own country.

Towards the end of 1898 we were notified by the German comrades of their inability to perform the task first assigned to them. The French Socialist Agreement Committee had just then been formed, and immediately took the matter in hand, bearing in mind the difficulties with which the previous congresses had to contend, and determined to prevent their recurrence. Considering in particular the special condition of the Socialist and labor organization in France, the said committee, while remaining faithful to the true spirit of the resolutions of the London Congress, unanimously accepted the idea of a Political Socialist Congress—that is, of a congress where the admission of trade unions was conditioned upon the recognition, by these unions, of the necessity of Socialist political action.

Here, however, a difficulty arose. The London permanent bureau, at the Brussels Conference, would not transfer its powers to the French Agreement Committee unless the latter accepted literally the conditions formulated by the London Congress. The Conference had to settle this difference, and did it in a way that permitted the French organizations

to make the necessary preparations for the grand Socialist and labor assizes of 1900.

Here are the terms in which the London permanent bureau delegated its powers to the French Agreement Committee:

"The London Congress instructed its bureau to call the next Congress at Paris in 1900, by appealing exclusively:

"1. To the organizations whose object is to substitute the Socialist for the capitalist mode of production and property, and which consider legislative and parliamentary action one of the means to this end.

"2. To the purely economic organizations (or trade unions) which, without taking part in the militant political mode of action, recognize the necessity of legislative and parliamentary action. Therefore, the anarchists are excluded.

"In execution of this mandate, the undersigned, members of the London Bureau, have transferred our powers to the French Socialist Agreement Committee, with the mission of inviting to the Congress:

"1. All the organizations which accept the essential principles of Socialism; namely, the socialization of the means of production and distribution, international union and action of the workers, Socialist conquest of the public powers by the proletariat organized as a class party;

"2. All the economic organizations which, standing on the ground of the class struggle, and declaring that they recognize the necessity of political, and therefore legislative and parliamentary action, do not, however, participate directly in the political movement."

This compromise was unanimously adopted by the eleven nations represented at Brussels, with the exception of France, who reserved her answer until the five organizations affiliated with the Socialist Agreement Committee had been consulted.

With the same unanimity the Brussels Conference, after having heard the declarations of the London Bureau and having read the circular of the French Agreement Committee, gave the latter power to call the Congress of 1900 in the terms above stated and subject to the acceptance of the aforesaid compromise by the five aforesaid organizations.

These five organizations having accepted the decision of the Brussels Conference, and the mission of calling the Congress of 1900 on the stated conditions, the General Committee, as the inheritor of the rights and obligations of the Socialist Agreement Committee, has become the committee for the organization of the International Congress, and lays before you a series of questions which constitute the temporary order of the day of the said congress, as follows:

1. Execution of the decisions of the congress. Practical means of international organization and action.

2. International legislation for the limitation of the hours of labor. Discussion of the possibility of a minimum salary in the various countries.

3. Necessary conditions for the emancipation of labor: (a) constitution and action of the proletariat organized into a class party; (b) political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie; (c) socialization of the means of production.

4. International peace, militarism, suppression of the permanent armies.

5. The colonial policy.

6. Organization of the sea-going workers.

7. The struggle for universal suffrage and direct legislation by the people.

8. Municipal Socialism.

9. Conquest of the public powers and alliances with the bourgeois parties.

10. The First of May.

11. The trusts.

Since the above order of the day was adopted the Social-Revolutionary Labor Party proposed the following additional question, the insertion of which in the programme of discussion has up to date been consented to by six out of eleven nations:

"In view of the growing concentration of capital, in view also of the economic disorder resulting from capitalist competition on a constantly enlarging scale (a disorder which cannot be repressed by political means); and, lastly and consequently, in view of the incessant degradation of labor, is not a direct conflict between capital and labor inevitable, which will take the form of a general strike?"

Citizens and Comrades—You are invited to attend the Paris International Socialist Congress. You will in time be notified of the measures taken by the French Socialists, fully united in the same thought of good understanding and combined action, to extend to the delegates the most fraternal hospitality and to present to the world, in all its grandeur, the fifth international manifestation of the wage-working class and of the Socialist Party.

Delegate Sanial, speaking of the additional question proposed by the Social-Revolutionary Labor Party, stated that—

They (the Allemanists) mean by that a universal, international strike, and it has been the dream of the Allemanists, who proclaimed that strike of the railroad employees of France, which was a failure just as the Debs strike in this country. It is evident that they want to force this question of the general strike upon the next congress. And yet at the last International Congress, it was made quite plain that a general strike, if the masses were sufficiently organized internationally, or even nationally, to carry it out, would simply be the Social Revolution, and, therefore, there would be no necessity for a strike, because the masses, being ready for the Social Revolution would not need to resort to such means, they would simply take the public powers, and abolish the class that is compelling us to resort to strikes for the redress of grievances. [Applause.]

Concluding the reading of the circular, Delegate Sanial said:

Upon these various questions this convention might give some instructions to its delegates or to such delegates of the Party as may gather from the various sections, and I understand some will be there, so that the American view of those questions may be very definitely stated. Of course, in the present condition of affairs in this country, with the tremendous development of industry and trustification, it is evident that both the capital and the labor of America are going to act the most important part in the economic affairs of the world, and because of these facts, which are well known and begin to be realized all over Europe, the voice of America at the congress should be potent in the settlement of some at least of those questions. [Applause.]

Delegate Meyer, who was then granted the floor to explain his vote upon the adoption of the platform during the morning session, stated that he was perfectly in harmony with the platform as adopted, with the exception that he believed the last paragraph did not make the statement of the class struggle explicit enough.

Delegate De Leon made a motion, seconded, that it be made a special order to hear the report of the Press Committee on the *Daily People* at 4 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, and that, for that purpose, the convention go into executive session, none but delegates or alternates being allowed to be present. Seconded.

Delegate DE LEON. The establishment of a daily paper has many features about it that should not be announced broadcast, that the members of the Party should know, but as to which there is no occasion to speak in public before people whom we cannot control. Now it is a fact that an attempt has been made to stop the weekly *People* by means of an injunction signed in the State of New Jersey (and consequently null and void), and some other steps of that nature may or may not be in contemplation. I simply give this as one of the numerous things that may arise. The matter of the *Daily People*, in my opinion, should be considered by this convention in executive session, visitors excluded.

The motion was then adopted.

Delegate Schade was then given the floor to explain the reason for his representing California in the convention, without credentials.

Delegate SCHADE. I wish to explain a little in regard to my representing California here. I have been asked by delegates why it is there has been a communication sent here by the State Committee of California and my seeming not to know that they were not represented here. As it is well known, San Francisco is the headquarters of freaks and the trouble that we had there with the Kangaroos. When the split-up occurred, there were a great many that went on our side, not from a matter of principle, but from a matter of personality. They knew no more about the revolutionary principles of our organization than many of the Kangaroos did, but they had personal grievances against some of the Kangaroos, and therefore went on our side. Some were mere freaks and some were frauds, and some were both, and some were just honest freaks. It was the honest freaks that were in our ranks after the Kangaroo split that gave the most trouble. The frauds very soon did something that showed their hand and we could get rid of them much easier. We had a great battle on hand, were suspended by the National Executive Committee and reorganized. We hadn't the property of the section in our hands, other members ran off with the property, and things were in rather a chaotic state. At that time I was compelled to leave San Francisco on a one day's notice about some trouble concerning my family, which I will not mention here. And on leaving there I saw two of the comrades, and I told them I had to go as far east as Pittsburg, and if possible I would try to get to New York, if I possibly could raise the funds. And they not being sure of my getting here, and the State Committee not knowing that I was coming east at all—only that they were notified by a comrade to whom I sent a communication through the National Secretary, not knowing any other address—it leaves the thing in a rather chaotic way. Comrade Kingsley and we had raised \$25 in San Francisco to send Comrade Kingsley here. It appears undoubtedly that they were unable to raise enough funds to send Kingsley here. If he came here, he was to bring credentials; and if I came, he was to give me those credentials. In a letter of Comrade Walker I received here, he states that Comrade Kingsley would like to come, if they could raise the funds. If the delegates will under-

stand the chaotic situation we had to deal with and the uncertainty of any person who was familiar with the movement there to get here, they will understand how it is that I was seated under such circumstances. Not being able to pay for a telegram, I sent word as soon as I came to New York, and was seated. But word would not arrive back until after the convention. So as it stands now, I am open to disqualification. I just state, as a revolutionist, if the members so decide, I am willing to abide by the majority. As it stands I am temporarily seated. Maybe a communication will be received from Section San Francisco to the State Committee with the credentials; but we had no blank credentials, we had nothing. We had a big fight on hand and are merely settling down to business.

REPORT OF DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE.

The report of the Daily People Conference was then read by Comrade Julius Hammer, of Section New York, as follows:

REPORT OF THE DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

With the growth of the Socialist movement here the want of a daily Socialist paper in the English language made itself felt more and more and manifested itself in various ways and at different times.

At the time of our last national convention a Daily People Fund aggregating \$1,283.91 had been collected mostly in small sums from the various parts of the country, but no extraordinary efforts had been made for this fund. The national convention was expected to determine the feasibility of publishing an English Socialist daily, for which purpose \$50,000 were thought necessary. That body resolved to open a national subscription for the accumulation of such a fund. In December, 1896, the Daily People Committee, appointed by the N. E. C., issued a call for 5,000 stalwarts to pledge \$10 each, payable not later than September 1, 1897. This fund was designated as the Daily People Major Fund in contradistinction from the existing—the Daily People Minor Fund. This call resulted in pledges to the amount of \$4,575, of which \$2,661.26 were paid in.

This was the state of affairs in connection with the *Daily People*, when comrades of the Sixteenth Assembly District, New York City, called for a conference of those anxious to see an English Socialist daily published in the near future. In response to this call comrades from various districts met on Sunday, January 8, 1899, and organized permanently.

Nothing of importance was done until April 8, 1899, when the Daily People Conference was endorsed by the General Committee of Section New York and the N. E. C., and sub-divisions were instructed to send delegates; on April 18 the N. E. C. also sent a delegate.

On June 23, 1899, in Teutonia Assembly Rooms, there was held a mass meeting of Party members and sympathizers in the interest of the *Daily People*, and the necessity of a daily Socialist paper.

These tangible efforts for establishing the *Daily People* were viewed with alarm by the now infamous *Volkszeitung* crew, who saw in the *Daily People* the grave of their *Volkszeitung*. This it was that

hastened July 10th of 1899, and July 10th culminated in July 1st, 1900.

The frantic efforts of that element to divert their doom by preventing the appearance of the *Daily People* accelerated its establishment.

The S. L. P. had to purge itself of the reactionary element before it could proceed along its revolutionary path.

It was only then that the *Daily People* Conference began in earnest its self-imposed task of establishing the *Daily People*; it organized an active and thorough canvass for subscriptions for our weekly organ, and furnished subscription books for that purpose. This, together with the work of perfecting the details of the plans to launch the daily on July 1, was carried on until the advent of the campaign. The elections over, the *Daily People* Conference immediately called a mass meeting of Party members to discuss the plans for the establishment of the *Daily People* by July 1, 1900. On November 26 this meeting took place. The comrades present gave proof of their earnestness by pledging on the spot over \$1,500. The plan laid before this meeting was later endorsed by the N. E. C., who issued the call to all sections of the Party for pledges in accordance with the plan adopted. That meeting dates the tide that carried the *Daily People* movement, on waves of enthusiasm, over the bar of reactionary opposition into the haven of the *Daily People*—an accomplished fact. From that time on the work of collecting pledges was energetically pushed; in a short time the pledges reached the sum of over \$5,000, and payments on the same began coming in. The total amount so far collected on pledges reaches nearly \$3,000, and the balance due on pledges will undoubtedly be collected within the next two months. The total amount raised to date, from various sources in the territory covered by the *Daily People* Conference, is about \$4,500, and will reach at least \$7,000. Thus, in the short period, from December 31, when the first money was paid in, till June 1, \$4,500 has been collected, and in a period of only seven months \$7,000 will have been collected in New York and vicinity.

The comrades here have done more than well, and have certainly done *their* share in the establishing of the *Daily People*. The task was a difficult one, but with a thorough organization of the class-conscious element in the Socialist movement, all obstacles were overcome, and our fondest hopes have been realized. But, difficult as the establishment of the *Daily People* has been, it may be much more difficult to maintain it; and in order to maintain it successfully it will be necessary to have a thoroughly organized movement of our comrades throughout the country. The local movement cannot be expected to maintain such a tremendous undertaking, in a place where capitalism with its huge army of lackeys and labor fakirs are hard at work trying to prevent the spread of enlightenment. We will stand by and man the guns, but you must help to supply the ammunition. With that in view we now we propose the following for your consideration:

An organization consisting of *Daily People* Clubs to be started in all parts of the country where the Party is organized, whose members shall pay five cents weekly towards the *Daily People* Fund, the same to be credited with stamps on cards furnished for the purpose by a central body, which shall be located in New York, and consist of five men, appointed by the N. E. C.

Of course, we understand that there are other ways, and in some instances better ways, of raising funds, but in view of the experience gained in collecting the funds for the establishment of the *Daily People*, which proved conclusively that nothing but an organized effort can bring success, the above plan is the only one which is bound to succeed. The most difficult part of this plan is the collecting of the weekly dues; but it is much easier to get one or two comrades in every locality in the country who will undertake this work and conscientiously perform it, than for whole sections to spontaneously put themselves in motion to raise funds by entertainments and other methods for something hundreds of miles away from them. Besides, this does not preclude the raising of funds in other ways. It merely insures a certain and constant income to meet any deficits that surely will arise from the publication of a straight out-and-out revolutionary Socialist metropolitan English daily.

New York will do its share; and if all the sections will do their share in this respect, the maintenance of our daily will be assured. No capitalist ads., nor the lack of same, will ever spike the mighty Socialist *Daily People*. Respectfully submitted,

THE DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE.

New York, June 4, 1900.

Delegate Reinstein moved that a vote of recognition of the convention for the services and work performed be tendered to the Daily People Conference. Seconded.

Delegate KINNEALLY. I wish to make an amendment and it is the only recognition, I believe, that the New York comrades want. The New York comrades want no recognition for the services rendered in this work. We have made a recommendation, or rather, the comrades from the Daily People Conference, that is, that Daily People Clubs be organized in every locality where sections are organized throughout the country, and funds collected for the purpose of carrying on the work of establishing the *Daily People* and making it a success. I therefore move as an amendment that we endorse the recommendation of the Daily People Conference, and make it the action of this national convention.

Seconded and carried.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

The roll-call was then read for the introduction of resolutions. The following resolutions were then presented:

Resolution of Delegate Schmutz as to subscription to *The People* and *Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, being made obligatory on Party members. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate McKeown on Socialists joining the S. T. & L. A. organization of their trade. Referred to the Committee on Attitude of the Party Towards Trades Unionism.

Resolution of Joseph H. Sweeney on Trade Unionism. Referred

to Committee on Attitude of the Party Towards Trade Unionism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Delegate Hickey then requested all delegates of the coal-producing States to confer with him after adjournment for the purpose of starting a national organization of the coal miners.

Delegate Forker made a motion that in the photograph of the convention to be taken the following day the flag presented to the S. L. P. by the Parti Ouvrier Francais be included in a conspicuous position, and a copy of the photograph be sent to the Parti Ouvrier Francais. Seconded and adopted.

At 6 p. m. the convention adjourned for the day.

FIFTH DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,

Wednesday, June 6, 1900.

Convention called to order at 9.30 a. m.

Brown elected Chairman, Kircher Vice-Chairman.

Chairman Eberle of the Credentials Committee reported that the delegate for the First Congressional District of New York went home Tuesday, and that his alternate, John Opel, desired to take his place. Recommended that he be seated. Adopted.

Alternate Cooper filled the place of Delegate Murphy. Alternate Seidel filled the place of Delegate Vogt.

The minutes of the previous day's session were then read and adopted.

Delegate Lake rose to a question of privilege, stating that, "being accused of lack of judgment yesterday, I thought it was well to offer this explanation. I hesitated in bringing the matter before the convention, but impelled by a sense of duty, having been instructed so to do, and seeing no other opportunity, I brought it up yesterday. Had I known that an executive session was to be held, I would have waited till then to do so."

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The convention then proceeded with the nominations for candidate for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Delegate MCKEOWN. Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, I rise to put in nomination a comrade who is well known to all the members of the Party in the East and generally to the members all over the United States of America, a comrade who has seen seven years of fighting on the S. L. P. line, a comrade who for the past year has been engaged as state organizer for the State of Massachusetts, a comrade who is mentally and physically equipped to fill the office of President of the United States, sterling in quality and ability, strong and honest in conviction, a man among men. I have great pleasure in nominating Comrade Joseph F. Malloney of Massachusetts for President of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Delegate RAASCH. I rise to second the nomination of the comrade, who has been a member of the Party for the last seven years, and whom the comrades of Massachusetts have seen fit to elect as state organizer. When the trouble arose in the Party this comrade was found loyal and true to the Socialist Labor Party; and the comrades having chosen him for state organizer have found no cause to regret their choice. I therefore take great pleasure in seconding his nomination.

Delegate EBERLE. Mr. Chairman and delegates, I wish to place in nomination Val. Rimmel of Pittsburg. [Applause.] His honesty and attitude towards the Party no one can question. He devotes all his time that the capitalists allow him to the Party. It was he who prevented the machinations of that criminal, Barnes. It was Rimmel who kept the State in line through that terrific struggle. I feel that the honor is due the man and I am sure that the Party cannot choose a better candidate.

Alternate Schulberg seconded Rimmel's nomination.

Delegate SPETTEL. I feel in duty bound, from a sense of justice, by knowing the condition of the Party in Minnesota, to place before this convention the name of a comrade who is second to none in the English-speaking world of Socialism. I only wish I could go on and tell what he has done to keep the Party straight in Minnesota. He was the only prominent speaker in Minnesota who stood by the ship, and that comrade's name is W. B. Hammond.

Seconded.

Delegate KRETLOW. While there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that all the comrades nominated are worthy of that great honor to be at the head of the Socialist Labor Party, still I will place another comrade in nomination. He is a Chicago comrade, probably not as well known as Comrade Malloney, he being an organizer and traveling throughout the States. He was one of those who stood loyal to the Party. If the comrades understood in what position Section Chicago was at the time it was suspended, you would certainly appreciate the work and the conduct of those ten men, especially of this comrade I wish to nominate, at the time of the reorganization. All the forces of reaction and of fraud that could be displayed against us were used. Against us were the press, money and speakers and all

the numbers; out of about four hundred only ten stood by the Party, and you can easily imagine what an up-hill struggle that was for a long time and is still. We went before the board of election commissioners at the time we went into a campaign last spring, and on account of our small numbers and on account of their incorporating the name S. L. P. for Illinois, we were beaten. When the judge looked upon the small number of our candidates in the field, he said: "You must be the seceders, because really in every ward these gentlemen have nominated a candidate, while you only have them nominated in one ward for aldermen." We couldn't nominate them in other wards, we didn't have the men, and the judge entirely ignored a national organization. "I don't care about your national organization," he said, "I am dealing with the city of Chicago, and it is obvious that you must be the seceders in this city from the original organization, and besides they have incorporated the name, when you have not." Although we had a charter that bore an earlier date than the incorporation papers, still the judge, seeing that there were five lawyers on their side, and on our side were only a machinist and a pattern maker who were defending the S. L. P., and that, with the evidence that we had in our hands we could win the contest, decided against us. And they now threaten that they will again contest our place on the ballot. When we had consulted a lawyer before we went to the court, he advised us not to hire him, because, when I presented the evidence, he said: "Your case is so clear that you might as well save your money, if you have one able man to do the talking before the board of election commissioners." I want to emphasize upon this convention that a similar contest may take place again, and if we can nominate a Chicago comrade it may be a great advantage to us, and I therefore place in nomination Comrade John R. Pepin of Chicago, who reorganized the section, and had credentials from the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

Delegate LAWRY. On the 10th of July all the reactionary elements that had formerly been foisted upon the Socialist Labor Party of the United States brought their powers to bear upon our national organ, *The People*, and all the loyal members who were connected with our Party. There are great storm centers of industrial capitalism, and I think perhaps the greatest in the United States is the industrial center of the city of Pittsburg and vicinity. Within the State of Pennsylvania we have the great mining industries paramount to all others in the United States of America to-day. We have the great Carnegie interest, which has its mills for miles along the Monongahela River. We have perhaps the most complete industrial city and county in Allegheny County in the United States and perhaps in the known world. I remember in 1896, along about December, when I used to go to the meetings of Section Pittsburg, in Allegheny County, and there I met such stalwarts as I see about me to-day. I remember how, as a utopian in those days, always having been naturally a rebel against tyranny and oppression, I remember, when in those utopian days I stood before those who upheld in even those early days the clear-cut, scientific posi-

tion of the Socialist Labor Party, a comrade that I believe to-day is as fully able to cope with the position of being the nominee of the Socialist Labor Party as any man that we have within the organization. I refer to the comrade who has been nominated by my Comrade Eberle—Val. Rimmel of Pittsburg. It was John Root of Section Pittsburg that was decided upon to go and reorganize Section Cincinnati when it had "kangarooed." It was Section Pittsburg that received the State Committee, when it was taken from that mongrel, Mahlon Barnes, of Philadelphia. Comrade Rimmel is to-day a man thoroughly American and yet thoroughly international in all his thought and feeling, a man who will carry the red banner of Socialism triumphantly throughout the States, if he be permitted, but at least through the valley of the Monongahela and the Ohio, and through the industrial storm centers of the Middle States. I have great pleasure, Comrade Chairman, in placing in nomination Comrade Val. Rimmel of Pittsburg for President of the United States.

Delegate KATZ. I happen to know most of the candidates nominated, and I know them all to be good members of the Socialist Labor Party, but it seems to me that one among them is to a greater extent than the rest entitled to the nomination by our Party for President of the United States. I think he is the logical candidate of the Party, because he represents to a greater extent than any other candidate who has been nominated, the militant, young, fighting members of the Socialist Labor Party. I second the nomination of Comrade Malloney of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

Delegate CURRAN. I also second the nomination of Comrade Malloney of Massachusetts, for the reason that his work has carried him into actual contact with the comrades in the East, and he is naturally fitted for the rough work of touring the country such as will fall to a Presidential candidate. His position as an organizer has taught him how to get around as he goes to different places, and also equipped him for taking advantage of all situations; and above all, his career as a wage-worker prior to his leaving his regular work to take up the position of organizer of Massachusetts, stamps him as a representative pure and simple of the proletarian class, and that above all reasons is the one that influences me in seconding his nomination. [Applause.]

Delegate HICKEY. Of the four candidates nominated, three are known to me personally, in fact, not alone as comrades, but I am proud to know them as intimate personal friends. About matters of character, strict standing up to the orders of the Party, from the standpoint of clean, unblemished career in the past, from the viewpoint of the soldier on the firing line, fighting the battles of the Party in the fierce conflicts that have gone, there is no choice between my friend Val. Rimmel of Pennsylvania, or Malloney of Massachusetts, or again my friend Pepin of Illinois. I rise to support the nomination of Malloney, for the reason that he has the necessary bull-dog physique [applause and laughter] the rough and tumble agitator must have upon the road. Comrade Rimmel is the man who more than any other has held Pennsylvania in line, until we have now reached that extraordinary stage of Kangarooism, mainly through Rimmel's efforts,

in which the Kangaroo organization of Pennsylvania consists of three speak-easies, and if they were to enforce the Sunday-closing law, there would be no Kangaroos at all in Pennsylvania. It is very true that Rimmel has done that, but how has Rimmel done it? Rimmel has done it at a desk, by his magnificent executive ability, by going around in Allegheny County and holding Allegheny County perfectly firm, and then directing men such as Root, Lawry, Eberle and others to go out and carry on the fight there. I believe that Comrade Rimmel would not like to be sent out to address meetings such as Malloney will have to address on Friday night, if he is nominated, in Cooper Union—talk to 2,000 people for an hour: I believe, therefore, that Malloney is the man.

In all other respects, each of them has been in the "pure and simple" unions for a number of years, each of them has carried on a fierce conflict there. Rimmel has been fighting in the Glass Workers and Malloney has been fighting in the Machinists. It was Malloney who, in the national convention of the International Association of Machinists, held up the new trades union banner in the convention of 1896, shortly after the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was organized. Malloney all during his career has fiercely fought every fakir, freak and crook in the hot-house of fakirs, freaks and crooks, Boston. Comrade Malloney is a man who is intensely hated by everything from Martha Moore Avery down to Leroy D. Usher. All of the freaks in Massachusetts hate him; all the freaks in New England hate him. They say Malloney is as bad to them as to wave a red rag before a bull. They do not like to hear the name of the man at all. Therefore, I believe, because of his record all along the line, because of his ability as a speaker during the presidential campaign, that the nomination of Comrade Malloney should go through. [Applause.]

Delegate DALTON. The convention of the Socialist Labor Party of 1900 will not do as the convention of the Socialist Labor Party did in 1896. I can see that from the type of men who have here been placed in nomination. There will be no danger that any of the men who have so far been placed before the convention will kangaroo, no danger of them evolving to the garbage-box [laughter], and if I rise to support the nomination of one of these candidates, I rise feeling that if the man I support doesn't receive the honor, yet the country will be safe, as the capitalists say. The qualifications that a man nominated by the Socialist Labor Party must have are first of all the constitutional qualifications. The day has gone by when the freak could arise in the Socialist Labor Party convention and say: "Oh, well, we don't care what the United States Constitution says about matters of age, or where he was born, we will nominate a man in violation of that." There is nothing expressive of that here in this convention. This is the modern Socialist Labor Party, if you please. As Comrade Lawry has well said of Comrade Rimmel, a man thoroughly American and yet absolutely international, and so it is with this convention of delegates of the Socialist Labor Party. I rise to support the nomination of the comrade from Massachusetts, for the reason given by those who have already preceded me, for the reason that he lines up and compares favorably with the other nominees as far as other quali-

fications go, and yet he possesses that other, that very necessary thing for the candidate of a proletarian party: he is himself a rough, rugged, strong proletarian. He can stand the buffets and the blows aimed at us by the freak and the fakir and their employers, the capitalists, and more than that, after they have buffeted him, he will buffet back, and as his name indicates, he may not wait for the first buffet. [Laughter and applause.] I therefore second the nomination of Comrade Joseph F. Malloney of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

Delegate MUNRO. I just get up to let our comrades know my particular choice for President. It is not based on personal reasons at all, but based on the fact of the services rendered by the man whom I have in contemplation, and that is Comrade Val. Rimmel of Pittsburg. Comrade Hickey and other delegates have said some things in regard to other nominees for candidate for that office that in my opinion are fully covered in the case of Comrade Val. Rimmel. There are other reasons why, in my estimation, Val. Rimmel should be the successful candidate for the position of candidate of this Party for the Presidency of the United States, besides his peculiar name or his physiognomy. As Comrade Hickey has said, Comrade Rimmel has that executive ability. We are about to appoint a nominee for the greatest office in the nation. He has one of the great requirements. He has, of course, some failings. He cannot, I suppose, make his voice heard from one corner of Cooper Union to the other, but I do not consider that that should debar him entirely from being honored by this convention with the highest office in its gift. I consider that Comrade Val. Rimmel fulfills all the requirements. I consider that we should act and judge from physical conditions. I consider that we should act and judge in picking our candidates from considerations of locality. I consider the locality where I propose to select my candidate from as the locality where we should all select our candidates from. For these reasons: Pittsburg is to-day conceded to be the industrial center of this commercial hemisphere. It is the rallying point of the proletariat to-day. It takes precedence in my estimation of New York and vicinity; in the future, more so, in my estimation; and in the near future, we will not only have The People's office and the National Executive Committee there, but we will have the whole machinery of the Party there. [Applause.] For these reasons, comrades and Chairman, I believe it will be the proper thing for the comrades here to nominate a man from the locality that will be the future center of our Party.

Delegate WOLFSON. In addition to what has already been said in eulogy or recognition of the ability and integrity of one of the candidates who has been placed in nomination here for the highest office within the gift of the delegation of the Party, in addition to what has already been said, I will state that I have known the candidate I refer to for many years. I was in close touch with him in the labor movement many years ago. I have known him to smash the head of fakirism so that it has never been resurrected, and that was also done in an industrial center, in the largest shoe manufacturing center in the United States, in the city of Haverhill, Mass. This candidate smashed the Central Labor Union of that city, and it has never been resurrected and I hope never will be. Comrade Hickey has aptly remarked about

his physique. I will add this much to it, that when the National Executive Committee designed the Arm and Hammer, which is to smash the damnable system of capitalism, I labored under the impression that it was this nominee from whose arm and muscle the arm and hammer was copied. I will close my remarks by saying that for the last three years Comrade Joseph F. Malloney has been the holy terror of fakirdom in Massachusetts. [Applause.] In the hot-bed of Debsism and armory Socialism, in the city of Haverhill, when Comrade Malloney appears, a Debsite is as scarce as to the poor wage-worker to-day is an American gold eagle. I therefore with more than pride endorse the nomination of my colleague and co-worker, Comrade Joseph F. Malloney.

Delegate REID. I think it might assist this large convention if we doubled up upon matters, and allowed our eulogy of nominees for President and Vice-President to be condensed into one speech. It might be well, and if in order, I will move at the conclusion of my remarks that we proceed with nominations for Vice-President, and that when the vote is taken, each delegate upon roll-call will vote at one and the same time for his choice of candidates for both President and Vice-President. I think, however, we are somewhat influenced by local conditions, by a spirit of local patriotism in the Party itself when it comes to nominations for candidates, especially for the high offices of President and Vice-President. Recognition must be given to those men active in the Party's work, and for that reason I rise, without hope of having this convention vote for the candidate which I shall nominate, to nominate a comrade who has resided in Rhode Island for a number of years, a comrade who is qualified in every way for the office of either President or Vice-President, a comrade who has struggled, worked hard in the movement and is still active, and who has to his credit some 250 meetings as agitator during the last three years, which I think is quite an active record, when we come to consider it. Now, I realize perfectly well that this convention has taken into consideration the nominees and the geographical distribution of them—Malloney in the East, Remmel and Pepin and Hammond in the farther West—that they will not possibly choose a combination which will take two eastern men, and as the expressions of opinion and eulogies uttered here indicate very emphatically that Malloney will be either the candidate for President or Vice-President, I have, as I said in the beginning, no hopes of my candidate being elected to either position, but as a recognition, as a matter of record upon the minutes of the national convention, I deem it fit that thereon be inscribed the name of Edward W. Thelner of Rhode Island, and I nominate him for the office of Vice-President. I now move that nominations be entertained for Vice-President also, and that, when the vote is taken, each delegate vote at once for his combination of President and Vice-President.

The chairman declared the motion out of order.

Delegate BILSBARROW. I also wish to second the nomination of Comrade Malloney, not only on account of his physique, but also because he has the ability to fill any office.

Delegate BOLAND. I rise to second the the nomination of Comrade

Malloney. He is a young, militant Socialist, who is bound to carry the banner to victory. He is an S. T. & L. A. man and possesses all the necessary qualities to do the necessary agitation which is to be carried on.

A motion was then carried that the balloting on the nominees for candidate for President of the United States be proceeded with.

The vote, which was then taken by roll-call, resulted as follows:

For Malloney—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Marx, Kretlow, Richards, Schmutz, Stevens, Carney, McKeown, Noonan, Schugel, Wolfson, Raasch, Jenness, Hess, O'Fihely, John Sweeney, Billsbarrow, Glanz, Wilson, Carless, Connelly, Mende, Opel (alternate for Bakke), Moore, Brown, DeLeon, Forker, Hickey, Katz, Keinard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Teche, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Gidley, Boland, Alexander, Lake, Stowe, Crimmins, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Reinstein, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Matthews, Curran, Kroll, Reid, Minkley, Dalton, Cooper (alternate for Murphy), Seidel (alternate for Vogt).

For Remmel—Malloney, Meyer, Schulberg (alternate for Keep), Simpson, Luedecke, Dinger, Fish, Wismer, Herriger, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Jacobson, Vardy, MacTier.

For Hammond—Spettel.

For Pepin—None.

Absent—Rose, Lyngard, McGarry, Gray, Reilly.

For Malloney, 60; for Remmel, 17; for Hammond, 1; for Pepin, none, 5.

The announcement of the result was greeted with great applause and cheering.

Delegate Eberle then made a motion, seconded, that Malloney's election be made unanimous by a rising vote. Carried unanimously.

In response to repeated calls for a speech, Delegate Malloney spoke as follows:

Delegate MALLONEY. Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention: I do not know how—even if I were what I would like to be—how I could best thank this convention for the honor—and so great an honor—conferred upon so small a man. [Laughter.] I certainly do realize and recognize the fact that, whether he be young or old, to receive the nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people, whether from the Democratic or Republican parties, is no honor whatsoever. [Applause.] But a nomination given to a proletarian by the proletariat, that the world could not live without, that class that robs no man and spills no man's blood, that class that stands for the emancipation of the proletariat, the last remnant of slavery in existence to-day; that class that stands first and foremost for justice and for liberty—to receive the nomination by a convention composed of that class, standing on the firing line, asking no quarter and giving no quarter, the class that doesn't take a bait, and that will throw out no bait, the class that realizes the class fight from the proletarian point of view, that is not asking for shelter from any of the equivocating, bourgeois reformers or deformers, the class that is destined to knock the props from under capitalism

and rear up in its stead that Socialist Republic, wherein the proletariat will no more exist, wherein the idle and corrupt class of capitalists will no more prostitute society; that Republic wherein the son of the worker shall be raised and trained as is becoming to a man, that class that is destined to establish for the first time in the history of man the full significance of the word liberty in all its essence, that class that has to-day seen fit to saddle upon my shoulders the responsibility of being its standard bearer for the year 1900, giving to me the responsibility of representing the militant, fighting S. L. P. of this country — is one of the greatest honors that can be conferred upon any man. [Great applause.]

I tell you now: I realize that nothing can be greater, and when the campaign is over, I tell you now, that my head will not weigh one ounce heavier. [Great applause.] While I realize the importance of the position, and realize the greatness that has been shown to me, not as an individual—understand that—I do not put any stress upon that whatsoever—but I do realize this, that in the past I have done my best. I do not say that I have done all that I possibly could, but if I had done more, I should not have done any more than my duty. In future I will try to continue to improve upon that; that wherever I represent the S. L. P., the S. L. P. shall be represented from class lines and shall be represented as a class movement; that it shall be represented and stand in antagonism to Democrats and Republicans, Debsites, reformers, deformers, and Kangaroos, and last, but not least, I will represent a Party that stands upon a trades union policy that is not criminal and corrupt, and at whose door cannot be laid the crimes and brutality that can be laid at the door of the fakirs and crooks that are now found sheltering and helping the Democratic and Republican parties. For this nomination I thank you again and again. I do not know what Massachusetts will say about it. I think they will be more surprised than anything else, but, however, Massachusetts will probably have to fall in line with this convention. I shall perform to the best of my ability the duties laid upon me, and I thank you as best I can for the honor you give me. [Great applause.]

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The convention then proceeded with nominations for candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

Delegate EBERLE. Comrade Malloney has been the unanimous candidate of the convention for President. It doesn't take one whit away from Comrade Remmel, and I therefore move that Comrade Val. Remmel be considered the candidate for Vice-President. [Applause.]

Delegate SPETTEL. I nominate W. B. Hammond of Minneapolis for Vice-President. While Comrade Hammond is a member of the Typographical Union, and has been for the last twenty-two years, I will say that he is not in sympathy with his organization or with any other pure and simple trade union. He has fought them in his union and in every other union and always tells them that he will address them as a class-conscious Socialist and along no other line, and I think that the convention would be wise in nominating Comrade Hammond of Minneapolis.

Delegate SCHADE. I come seemingly from the other side of the continent, still I wish to rise and second the nomination for Vice-President of my colleague and co-worker, Comrade Val. Rimmel. Originally I came from the mining districts, and I know that all the comrades here from Pennsylvania know that to Val. Rimmel we owe the organization that Pennsylvania has to-day. I could not say words that would eulogize him more than what has been said. I will simply state that I think that no other candidate is more logical to be the candidate for Vice-President of this convention than Comrade Val. Rimmel.

Delegate ALEXANDER. As I heard the qualifications of the two leading candidates for President stated, I felt that I would like to vote for both of them. I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Comrade Val. Rimmel. [Applause.]

Delegate RICHARDS. I second the nomination, in the name of the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana, of W. B. Hammond of Minnesota. He has all the constitutional requirements. His Socialism has been tried and found above reproach. He is an orator, and has every qualification that could be asked. I second the nomination of W. B. Hammond.

Delegate KRETLOW. I renominate Comrade Pepin for Vice-President. I think the State of Illinois ought to be given a little more recognition than it has been given heretofore. The State of Illinois remained solid by the Party, and the city of Chicago alone turned traitor, but the loyal comrades there are now fighting a battle royal for the S. L. P., and they certainly deserve credit for it. Comrade Pepin is an able speaker and an able writer, and also willing to tour the States, and I nominate Comrade Pepin for Vice-President.

Seconded.

Delegate RUPP. I second the nomination of Val. Rimmel. It has been remarked that Comrade Malloney represents that fighting spirit and that rough and tumble spirit which is necessary in the movement. We now desire a man that will represent the executive ability, and whom could we find to better represent us in that capacity than Comrade Val. Rimmel of Pennsylvania? I second his nomination.

Delegate SWEENEY of New York. I was instructed by the Sixteenth Congressional District of New York to only vote for a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance for President and Vice-President. I therefore took great pleasure in voting for Comrade Malloney for President, and I also rise to second the nomination of Val. Rimmel of Pennsylvania.

Delegate SCHULBERG. For presiding officer of the Senate we could not possibly find a better man than Val. Rimmel.

Delegate THOMAS. It appears that the rivalry amongst the proletarians of this conventions is such that they will, I believe, nominate each and every comrade and militant Socialist. While we have been here to-day expressing the qualities and characteristics of those who have been nominated, I desire to say I much approve of what has been said regarding each and every one of them; but we should always

consider that we are a fighting, militant, class-conscious organization of Socialists and men who have not been in any way or in any particular befuddled by the bourgeois doctrine of reform or any Kangarooism. We should stand by the individuals such as described by Comrade Malloney, that after the election his head will not be one bit lighter or one bit heavier. [Applause.] I hope that the candidates who will be nominated here for these prominent positions will not have their heads any lighter and will have no Kangarooism in them. And I hope that the second and the express wish of this convention will be Comrade Val. Remmel, whom I know to be an individual who never for one moment deviated from the path of the class-conscious proletariat, and I will therefore state that I second the nomination for Vice-President of Val. Remmel.

Delegate MCKEOWN. I rise to support the candidacy for Vice-President of Val. Remmel. I think it is only a fitting tribute to his ability and his much work for the good of the Party, and I am sure, with his executive ability and Malloney's determined, progressive work during the campaign, that we will have a team in harness that will make the Socialist Labor Party be heard from Maine to California.

Delegate CARLESS. We have in the past nominated candidates for the Vice-Presidency. It has been said that the candidate for President has had an honor conferred upon him that is the highest in the gift of the Party. We can safely say that the nomination for Vice-President is the second highest gift in the hands of the Socialist Labor Party, and I believe we should be very careful here to-day and find and nominate a man that we know will represent the Party as it should be. We have here to-day one placed in nomination from the Northwest. Now, if we are to consider the geographical conditions, we may say, well, the nomination for Vice-President should go to the Northwest or even the far West, but as delegates to this convention we should not allow geographical conditions to interfere in any sense with the selection of a candidate. We have had experience in the past. We nominated a candidate four years ago who kangarooed. The New York comrades nominated a candidate for Governor of New York who kangarooed. The candidate for President had no use whatever for trade unions. The candidate for Governor, Benjamin Hanford, was a member of the Typographical Union, and we found that he did not stand square on the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and as a result, he is one of the Kangaroos. It is our duty, it is a necessity with this convention, to nominate a candidate who stands squarely upon the policy of the Party with regard to trade unions. [Applause.]. To say that he talks straight Socialism before an organization is not sufficient. We have got to tell the workingmen that these organizations have got to give way to the organization of the proletariat, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. [Applause.] And as a result of that, had it not been for the fact that Comrade Malloney is physically a much stronger man than Comrade Remmel, I know well I would have preferred to vote for Comrade Remmel for candidate for President. Our Jersey delegates have asked me to say that; to say that, knowing that he is standing in season and out of season supporting the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the Jersey delegates are

unanimous in seconding and supporting the nomination for Vice-President of Comrade Val. Rimmel of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

Delegate Bilshaw seconded the nomination of Rimmel.

Delegate KROLL. The fact that Comrade Val. Rimmel doesn't waste any of his time or lend any of his energies to supporting the tools of capitalism, "pure and simple" unions, is sufficient reason why the Rhode Island delegates will unanimously second the nomination of Comrade Val. Rimmel. [Applause.]

Delegate SPETTEL. A comrade seemed to be a little afraid that Comrade Hammond might possibly "kangaroo."

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't say that.

Delegate SPETTEL. Well, he almost said that—one member of the Typographical Union "kangarooed." I want to say that it is very easy for members of the Typographical Union here in New York to belong to the S. T. & L. A. local of their union. It is very easy, but there in Minneapolis, where he is the only one in the Typographical Union, he comes out and boldly advocates the S. T. & L. A., in and out of the union and everywhere, and he is also a member of the S. T. & L. A. Local Alliance. There is no stauncher S. T. & L. A. man in this room, Malloney and the rest of them, than Comrade Hammond of Minneapolis. He has advocated it on the platform of the union, in private conversation, and everywhere he has done what he could for the S. T. & L. A., and I hope that the comrades will not be afraid of him on those lines or any other lines.

Delegate Katz made a motion, seconded, that the balloting on nominees for candidate for Vice-President be proceeded with. Carried.

The ballot was then taken by roll-call, with the following result:

For Rimmel—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Marx, Schmutz, Stevens, Carney, McKeown, Noonan, Wolfson, Malloney, Raasch, Jenness, Hess, John Sweeney, Meyer, Bilshaw, Glanz, Wilson, Carless, Connelly, Mende, Opel (alternate for Bakke), Moore, Brown, De Leon, Hickey, Katz, Schulberg (alternate for Keep), Keinard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Simpson, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Gildley, Boland, Alexander, Lake, Stowe, Crimmins, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Luedicke, Reinsteil, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Matthews, Fish, Wismer, Herriger, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Jacobson, Vardy, Curran, Kroll, Reid, MacTier, Dalton, Cooper (alternate for Murphy), Seidel (alternate for Vogt).

For Hammond—Richards, Schugel, O'Fhelly, Spettel, Forker, Teche, Minkley.

For Pepin—Kretlow, Dinger.

Absent—Lyngard, McGarry, Gray, Reilly, Rose.

For Rimmel, 69; for Hammond, 7; for Pepin, 2; absent, 5.

Delegate Dinger then moved to make the nomination of Comrade Val. Rimmel as candidate for Vice-President of the United States unanimous by a rising vote. Seconded and carried unanimously.

Three cheers were then given for Rimmel and the Socialist

Labor Party, and again three cheers for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Delegate EBERLE. In the name of Comrade Remmel and of the delegates from the State of Pennsylvania, I want to assure you that both Comrade Remmel and all the Party members living in the State of Pennsylvania realize and appreciate the honor that has been conferred on the State by the election of Comrade Remmel as the Vice-Presidential nominee. I assure you that if Comrad Remmel were here, he would make remarks that would prove to you conclusively that he is a candidate well fitted for the position. During September the National Convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will be held in Pittsburgh. I have spoken to Comrade Malloney about it, and if we can possibly arrange it, we will have both the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees speak in the largest house that we can get in Pittsburgh. [Applause.]

It was then moved and seconded that the National Executive Committee be empowered to fill any vacancy in the nominations that might occur through illness or accident. Carried.

Delegate Kroll moved that the consideration of the Municipal Programme be laid over and made the first order of business on Thursday. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Sanial was then granted permission to present the following resolution, the adoption of which he moved:

Whereas, The *Abendblatt*, the Jewish official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, is a very important instrument of our Party for the propaganda of Socialism among the numerous Jewish workers in this country; and

Whereas, The Workingmen's Publishing Association, which at present acts as the Party's trustee for the publication of the *Abendblatt*, has recently concluded a contract for the purchase of linotype machines, and has received the endorsement of the National Executive Committee for the issuing of a call for funds to enable the *Abendblatt* to carry out its contract; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the delegates to it to go back to their constituents and work among the members and friends of the Party for the purpose of collecting the necessary funds, and thus carry out the purpose of the National Executive Committee.

Adopted.

A resolution on the Jewish official organ, the *Abendblatt*, by Delegate Zolot was referred to the Committee on Party Press.

The convention then adjourned to 1.45 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Alternates Opel, Schulberg, Cooper and Seidel served in the places of Delegates Bakke, Keep, Murphy and Vogt, respectively.

Greetings were read from Progressive Typographical Union No. 83, S. T. & L. A.

Organizer Abelson, of Section Greater New York, then announced that Section Greater New York had arranged a ratification meeting to be held Friday evening, June 8, in Cooper Union, and invited all the delegates to take platform seats at the meeting and display their badges on the platform. The organizer said he would bring platform tickets to the convention Thursday, so that the delegates might provide themselves therewith in the morning or afternoon.

Delegate Wolfson made a motion, seconded, that the invitation of Section Greater New York be accepted. Carried.

MESSAGE TO PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS.

Obedient to instructions given him by the convention at the session of Sunday, June 3, the National Secretary then submitted to the convention the following message to the comrades of the Parti Ouvrier Francais in France:

SECTION DE PARIS, PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS:

Dear Comrades—The Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, assembled this fifth day of June, 1900, at Grand Central Palace, New York City, extends to you, across the Atlantic, the fraternal greetings of the Party's representatives.

Comrade B. F. Keinard has conveyed to this convention your message of class-conscious solidarity.

He has also presented to us the beautiful banner dedicated by the Paris comrades to the Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

As a token of the fact that your struggle is our struggle, that your difficulties are our difficulties, and that the class-conscious militant Socialists of the two republics, in their steady march against the capitalist citadel, must hew their path through a thick underbrush of middle-class trickery, the gift was received with hearty enthusiasm and lusty cheers.

On both sides of the Atlantic, one in aims and tactics, we say to the proletariat:

No compromise! No backward step! Onward to the Social Revolution!

For the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, 1900.

HENRY KUHN, National Secretary.

[Applause.]

Upon motion, the convention adopted the letter as read.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The report of the Committee on Constitution was then taken up. Delegate Curran, chairman of the committee, introduced the matter as follows:

Delegate CURRAN. As most of the delegates or a number of them will probably leave to-day, many of them have expressed a desire that in considering such revisions as have been made, the first thing taken up should be the provisions respecting the National Executive Committee. And in placing this constitution before the members, I would suggest that if there is no objection the procedure be much as it was in 1896: the chairman of the committee reads the constitution as

drawn up and calls for objections to the parts as he reads them serially, and in the absence of objections proceeds to the next part without the formality of a vote on every little provision. When there is a case of serious objection, we should pass it over to the end, going over the other parts first, and then taking up the parts objected to at the end, going through them, putting it all in shape, and then take a final vote on the constitution as a whole. This will expedite matters. So, if there is no objection, we will take up the part that refers to the National Executive Committee. That part will be in the new constitution—

ARTICLE V—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the national convention from members of the section located at the seat of the National Executive Committee, for the term intervening between two conventions, subject to approval by general vote of the whole Party.

Delegate De LEON. I will present my objection in the shape of an amendment. Instead of "subject to approval," I would suggest that a definite time be stated when the approval or disapproval can be expressed. It seems now to be rather indefinite. This convention adjourns. When shall the approval or disapproval be closed? As a matter of fact, it does not say when the term commences. Does it commence from the time when the convention nominates them or from the time of approval or disapproval? It seems to me that that part is somewhat indefinite, and it should state, "subject to the general vote of the whole Party, to be closed on or before the _____ day of _____."

Delegate CURRAN. The present provision of the constitution in relation to taking the general vote is retained in this constitution, and, like any other proposition requiring a general vote, it must be placed before the Party in the ordinary course.

Delegate DE LEON. I know that when the last convention adjourned it was some time before the matter was sent to a general vote for ratification. Shall the ratification of all these amendments and other clauses go together with the election of the new National Executive Committee, or how? We adjourn, and do not know when this convention orders the vote to be taken and within what time it should be closed. I make an amendment, to bring it before the house, that, instead of saying "subject to approval," it read, "and these nominees to be submitted to a general vote of the Party and the vote upon them to close on or before such and such a day."

Delegate CURRAN. That can be met by providing something like this: "subject to approval by general vote of the whole Party, the call for which to be submitted within two weeks after the adjournment of the convention," and the ordinary provisions as to the return of a general vote, providing five weeks.

Delegate KRETLOW. I make a motion that this convention nominate the members of the National Executive Committee, and that the Party membership as a whole elect them.

Delegate MEYER. I make an amendment that the same rules that have been followed from 1896 till now be upheld. I make this mo-

tion for the simple reason that it seems we are going to jump into something a great deal worse than what we have had. If the Party membership is not able to cope with such situations, your laws will not be able to prevent it; and if you have any Executive Committee that is elected for four years, you will find that it is a great deal harder to get men, if they are so inclined, out of the position that they hold, than when we elect them for one year. I remember that our Party organs have written continually about the old parties trying to extend the term of office for the politicians. That very same thing applies here. We must keep control of our Party as rank and file; that we are not bound to submit for four years to any Committee which may be elected, and in order to have it so that we can every year elect whomever we want; therefore, we should have a re-election every year. My motion is that the same method that has been followed from 1896 till now be continued.

Motion seconded.

Delegate O'FIELLY. I wish to ask, for a point of information, if this convention nominates candidates for the National Executive Committee, and they are not endorsed by the Party vote, what position are we in?

Delegate CURRAN. In taking this general vote, the National Executive Committee, under the call, will have to provide for registering the votes, "yes" or "no," for these candidates, and if a majority vote "no" for any particular candidate, then there is a vacancy in the National Executive, and under future provisions of the constitution the section the seat of the Committee will then have to nominate two candidates to be submitted to a general vote for that vacancy or for each vacancy that may occur as a result of failure to approve.

Delegate O'FIELLY. I believe with Comrade Meyer that the old system of electing the National Executive Committee is sufficiently good for us just now.

Delegate KROLL. I think the majority of the delegates of this convention will readily admit that the old method of electing the National Executive Committee—for that matter the men who are on that National Executive Committee and who ought to know more about the Committee than anybody else—that that method is not the best and that a change should be made whereby the National Executive Committee will be directly responsible to the Party as a whole and not be subject to local changes that are liable to take place at any time, due to unusual influences or perhaps to the treachery of one or two individuals. [Applause.] But it seems to me, however, that the proposition of the committee might be somewhat improved upon. I think it would be wiser for the national convention to select the seat, and nominate, say, fourteen, and for the Party as a whole to select seven out of the fourteen, giving them a choice of men in that particular locality who are deserving of the votes of the members of our Party throughout the country and fit for membership on the National Executive Committee. In that way, we should be sure to elect seven, and there would be no danger of any being left out so that the Committee would be hampered in its work until another general vote could be taken. For instance, if only seven are nominated,

and two or three of those seven are rejected by the Party as a whole the remainder of the Committee would be hampered in its work; or, if a majority failed of election, the old Committee would have to remain till the new Committee was elected, which would cause considerable trouble and some confusion. I think, on the contrary, that if this national convention simply selects the seat, subject, of course, to the national body, and nominates fourteen candidates for membership on the National Executive Committee, then we should be certain to elect seven, and seven that the Party as a whole can feel sure are the the best men to be found in that locality for the place. Therefore, I amend to the effect that the clause be changed to the effect that the national convention shall select the seat and shall nominate fourteen candidates, seven of whom are to be elected by the Party by general vote for membership in the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

Delegate SIMPSON. I wish to amend. I can see the reason why the committee and the National Secretary in fact have made the recommendation. It is their object to prevent in future a wrong National Executive Committee being elected by one section, simply because that one section goes wrong, as might have been possible in the past and might again become possible in the future if the present system is retained. The method advised by the committee avoids that, but it falls into another difficulty, and that is, that this convention nominates for members of the National Executive Committee men located in one city. This convention is not as well acquainted with the members of Section New York, their capabilities, and so on, as are the members of this convention who live close to them in this city or in this vicinity. It would therefore happen that this convention would nominate only such men to the National Executive Committee as are known to it because they are agitators or writers in the Party press or something of that sort. Now, the men who are good agitators, and may be good writers, may sometimes be just the very poorest material for executive work. In order to avoid this, I believe it would be well to adopt the plan of the committee with regard to nominations in case of vacancies, viz., that this convention adopt the following rules for the election of the National Executive Committee: Section New York is to nominate fourteen men for the National Executive Committee and submit this list to a vote of the Party throughout the country, and the seven receiving the highest vote shall be elected; the work of nomination—which practically this convention would do under the proposed plan—to be left entirely in the hands of the sections where the seat of the National Executive Committee is to be located. I further intended to include in this amendment the following: I believe the term of the present National Executive Committee expires about January 1. I would like to incorporate in my amendment that the new National Executive Committee to be elected under the new rules which are to be adopted by this convention shall enter office on the expiration of the term of the present National Executive Committee. My amendment is that "the nominations are to be made by the section which is to be the seat of the National Executive Committee, the election to be made, according to the provisions of the Committee,

by the Party throughout the country, the term of office to be one year, as at present, not four years, as proposed by the committee."

Delegate CURRAN. The proposition of Comrade Simpson can be put right in this section, if it is desired to do so, with very little change, so that there is no need of framing a long amendment to this constitution.

National Secretary KUHN. I would like to say, in the first place, to those delegates who seem to be of the opinion that the present regulations should be retained, that, if I know anything at all about the sentiment of the Party, as it is reflected in the communications received at the office, the present system will not be approved and any proposition to retain it will be voted down. That is my opinion gathered from the various communications received. There is an absolute desire to do away with a system that made it possible to set up a claim such as was set up by the Kangaroos; it was unconstitutional, it is true, but it gave them a handle, nevertheless. If at that time we had had a provision such as now proposed by the Committee on Constitution, the pretence set up by the Kangaroos could not have been set up. Immediately the matter would have gone to the entire Party, and Kangaroolism would have been knocked in the head right there and then; you know that. Now, as to the various amendments that have been made. They do not affect the central principle involved, they merely take away or add to. But there are some of them that add to only for the purpose of making things more cumbersome, of creating a situation where you must set the whole machinery of the Party in motion so many more times than are necessary. I heard one delegate argue it in this way: that we should not have the National Executive Committee elected for four years. He seems to lose sight of the fact entirely that the seven persons elected now will surely not be the same persons four years hence, not with the National Executive Committee of a labor party, the members of which are workmen, the members of which are often compelled to leave town in search of a job. There will be a constant change of persons, and when the four years are up, perhaps with one or two exceptions, you will have an entirely different Committee from what you elect to-day. It has also been said that if the Party membership rejects the choice of the convention, then we would have no Committee. That is trotting out an impossible hypothesis. This convention as truly reflects the spirit of the Party as any convention that has ever been held, and if this convention chooses a certain Committee to do a certain work, it is almost impossible, in my opinion, that the Party membership at large would reject the choice of this convention. The objection is purely theoretical; practically it has no value whatever and is of no value. But so long as the central principle is maintained, I care not so much for all these amendments whether they are adopted or not. They will make a little more trouble, a little more work and a little more expenditure of money, because you have to go continually to general votes throughout the whole country, a thing that costs money, and considering printing, postage, and all that sort of thing, it means considerable money at times.

I do not think it advisable to so change the proposition of the Committee on Constitution that we have a general election every year.

It is unnecessary, as I said before. The composition of the Committee is bound to change almost continually. We have it now. The Committee is now elected for the term of one year. What happens? Every once in a while a member of the Committee, for some reason or other, has to resign, and that vacancy has to be filled, and never as yet did we have at the end of the year exactly the same Committee that we had at the beginning of the year. It has never happened in my recollection. There has always been some change, and in the course of four years, as I said before, there will be almost a complete change of them. There will be very few of the original members, and gradually the Committee will have been filled up with new material. By a change of that sort, a gradual change, leaving in office always some men who have been there before, thoroughly familiar with the work that is to be done, familiar with the conditions prevailing throughout the country in the Party, such a Committee, receiving some new additions, is in a much better condition than an entirely new Committee, a Committee that comes in and knows practically nothing, at least not not so far as the inside affairs of the Party are concerned. There will perhaps be five men who are in office for some time, familiar with affairs; two new men come in; after half a year, three quarters of a year, a few of the old members will go out and again some new ones will come in; but there will be present at all times a sufficient number such as are thoroughly familiar with the affairs of the Party.

Delegate DE LEON. I would like to ask the committee whether they have any recommendations on paragraphs 2 and 3, and particularly paragraph 3, whereby the section that is the seat of the National Executive Committee has the power to suspend.

Delegate CURRAN. There is no provision for the section at the seat of the National Executive Committee to suspend. The only provision is that the suspension may be made by a general vote on written charges by the state committee. The right of the section at the seat to suspend is taken away.

Delegate DE LEON. In my estimation, the thing above all others that enabled the Kangaroos to give us the trouble they did, except the ownership of the machinery of the Party press, was this clause that located in a section that elected the National Executive Committee the power to suspend and otherwise remove. If the Committee on Constitution has provided for that in a way as to deprive any one section of any such autocratic power, why future Kangarooism of that nature has been scuttled completely. Of course they can violate the law the same as they did. It is a dangerous clause, and I do not know how it escaped the notice of the Committee on Constitution four years ago. With that clause left out, the danger of a midnight attempt of canaille to capture the Party is removed. If the Committee on Constitution has a provision by which the members of the National Executive Committee can be removed upon the same principle that an amendment to the constitution can be made, it is absolutely covered. There is no real danger any more. Then I would sympathize with the attitude of the comrade from Detroit. I must admit that I am not quite clear even now. Nevertheless, I am inclined to the idea of hav-

ing the National Executive Committee chosen by the convention, because that gives more dignity to the National Executive.

Then I have another reason. Of course, you all have Section New York in mind, but we were told to-day that Pittsburg was going to be the next place, and who knows but that it may be Pittsburg? Changes can take place in the make-up of a section, and it is more than human to expect of a section that holds opinions different from those of the Party that it would rise equal to the occasion and say: We are entrusted with a high mission, that of electing the National Executive Committee. It is the National Executive Committee of the whole Party. We are not the whole Party, and although a majority of us hold differently from the whole Party, yet shall we choose men from the minority who do represent the whole Party. You could not get a section in the United States to do that—not anywhere. If a section is entrusted with the power to elect, that section is going to elect according to its majority, and if that majority has changed complexion and temporarily consists of men who hold opinions different from those of the whole Party, that section is going to elect men reflecting its opinion and not the opinion of the whole Party. These are two reasons: I think it adds dignity to the National Executive to be chosen by the national convention and it renders safer the correct reflection by the National Executive of the composition of the whole Party.

We have had, for instance, the question of the Alliance. Section New York is absolutely safe on that, never was otherwise but safe, but you realize, as the National Secretary has indicated, that this is a workingmen's party, and it needs extraordinary efforts sometimes for all the men to be on deck. The larger the section, the easier it is for a minority to happen to be the absolute majority. The general vote has to be taken in the assembly districts, and men hostile to the Alliance principle, to the correct principles of trade unions, might—I will not say that they never would—might have prevailed ultimately by a vote of two or three, although, in point of fact, they only contained 200 men, fully 35 of whom have no vote in the United States and fully 25 of whom, I am certain, voted the Democratic ticket last year, if not more. In view of that fact, it is much safer to have the election of the National Executive entrusted to the convention, and to remove from the section that is the seat of the National Executive Committee the power to suspend. I presume that we all agree that the National Executive should be chosen by the convention from men located in the same town, so that they can meet and transact affairs properly. That National Executive will reflect the opinion of the Party; you will free the section of the temptation of trying a *coup* by electing men who do not represent the Party; and since the Party at large has the power to remove any one of them or all of them by general vote, we reach all that we want, we avoid all that has proved dangerous in the past or may prove dangerous in the future.

Delegate WOLFSON. It is true that this is a National Executive Committee, as Comrade De Leon has said. The "national" appears big and the "executive" is very small in the sounding. If Section Greater New York, according to the amendment offered by the delegate from New York, should be given the power to make the nominations,

then we are here only figure-heads to confirm the slate. If the convention is to elect the National Executive Committee, then Section Greater New York or our National Secretary should supply this convention with the names of members in good standing of that section, and the convention should also have the power of placing in nomination the very ones they have been called upon to vote for. Let us have a choice. The delegate who proposed and submitted the amendment to the amendment has given his reasons. I endorse them. If you give us fourteen candidates to choose from, it is unlikely that the full complement will not be approved or ratified by the Party at large through the referendum vote.

Delegate REID. I move, as a substitute for the report of the committee, that this be inserted in its stead: "That the National Executive Committee shall be composed of fifteen members, elected by a general vote of the Party. The section or sections chosen by the convention as the seat of the National Executive Committee shall nominate thirty members in good standing from amongst their own members, the fifteen receiving the highest number of votes to be elected, whose term of office shall continue from January 1, 1901, until our next national convention." I think the principle of having the Party vote at large elect the National Executive Committee should be put in the constitution. I agree, however, with the suggestion of Comrade Kroll that we do not nominate barely the number suggested in the report. I think also that the National Executive Committee should be sufficient in numbers to allow for the subdivision of its work among its own members.

Delegate DALTON. The constitution contemplates having the National Executive Committee nominated by a body that is truly representative of the Party, and then submitted, as all important matters should be, to the whole Party, making the National Executive Committee responsible to the Socialist Labor Party. That carries out the idea of democracy. Nay, more—it gives the Socialist Labor Party an opportunity to carry out that other just as imperative principle of democracy, and that is the imperative mandate. So you give to the whole Party the right of electing the National Executive Committee, you give to the whole Party the right of suspending, discharging the National Executive Committee. You take away at once all this talk about charges, about whether they should be suspended or not, because, when the Socialist Labor Party ceases to delegate its power to any section or sections of the Party, then it also ceases to make it necessary for itself to prefer charges against any of its servants or officers, and you can remove your officers without any monkey business. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, being composed of workingmen, who have no assurance of staying in any one place, and the Socialist Labor Party not being equipped so that it can elect men geographically, the plan meets that. It gives to every member of the Party a choice between the members who will be known to them the only way they can be known to them, through the Socialist Labor Party press. It also completes the idea of a working democracy, a democratic body, performing the work laid down for them by the Socialist Labor Party. In other words, the proletariat

of the United States will then have a body that will do its work and a body it can throw down at any time it makes up its mind to throw it down, without any one questioning its right to do so.

A motion was then carried, that after the adjournment at 6 o'clock the convention reconvene at 6.45 p. m. and remain in session until 9 p. m.

Delegate CURRAN. I think there should be some change in increasing the membership of the National Executive Committee, considering the growth that is to come to the Party in the future years and the necessity, therefore, of the National Executive Committee being in a position to take care of any future work that may be added to it as a result of such growth. Yet I can see that, when the seven members are active, they can manage it in some fashion; so I do not propose to occupy any time in support of it.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to call the attention of the delegates to a fact. I believe that Comrade Wolfson inadvertently used the word "slate," and the idea might be held that there is such a thing in the nominations of Section New York. While the call goes out for the nomination for seven members to the National Executive Committee, there are, as a matter of fact, some forty subdivisions which make nominations for these delegates, and when the nominations are returned to the National Secretary, we find that the list of nominees will vary perhaps from twenty to forty, as was the case in this last election for National Executive. Then the membership proceeds to select out of that number the seven members whom it cares to elect as members of the National Executive Committee. I only point it out to show that while the number called for is small, yet there is a very large selection for us to vote upon when the vote is taken.

Delegate KROLI. It appears to me that on the majority of points all those who have spoken are in perfect accord, with one exception, that is, that the method shall be changed, that the Executive Committee should be subject to a general vote of the Party. Now, the question is, Shall it be a large Committee or a small Committee, seven or fifteen? I favor a small Committee, of seven active men, because seven men will accomplish ten times the amount of work that fifteen will. That is always the case. Now then, if this Committee is to be elected by general vote, practically, whether this convention simply makes the nominations or elects, would it not be more satisfactory to all concerned through the better results to the Party as a whole, to nominate fourteen and allow a choice by the voters throughout the country, than to nominate seven and limit the vote to seven? I am in favor of having the nominations made by the national convention, because when the national convention meets, there are, as a rule, representatives from all parts of the country. If at this convention it should be decided that New York should be the seat of the National Executive Committee, then it would devolve upon the convention to nominate fourteen men, who shall stand for the positions of members of the National Executive Committee. The delegates from the different portions of the country would endeavor to find out who these fourteen men are, what their qualifications may be, and when they go back to

their homes they may perhaps be able to describe these men in appearance, tell what some man who knows them thinks about them, so that the membership at large will have a better idea of whom they are going to vote for than if you decide that the seat of the National Executive Committee shall make the nominations. That would bring about better results in the Party as a whole and more confidence in the Executive, and bring the National Executive in closer contact with the Party, if the nominations are made by the national convention, subject to selection by general vote.

National Secretary KUHN. I rise to speak against the substitute providing for an Executive Committee of fifteen members. Not even Section New York can with perfect ease find fifteen men to do the work that the seven men can do as well. That is number one. Number two is—and the delegates present who have at one time or another been members of the National Executive Committee will bear me out when I say—that sometimes it is by no means easy to have a quorum at hand. Almost every man of such National Executive Committee is in some way or other tied up in the work of agitation. He is either a speaker or he is on some committees doing executive work, and very often that work falls on days when meetings of the National Executive Committee are to be held and interferes seriously. If we have seven men, we need four for a quorum; if we have fifteen, we need eight. It is far more difficult to pull eight together than to pull four together. It doesn't require a great deal of calculation to make that out. I might mention another point, which to many will perhaps appear somewhat humorous, but there is something in it, after all. If, as has been the case, the courts turn their kind attention upon the National Executive Committee, and fine each member of the National Executive Committee \$250, you will see that fifteen times \$250 is more than seven times \$250. You will realize that also. And if you put fifteen men in jail, and withdraw them from agitation, you put more in jail than if you put in only seven.

Delegate SANIAL. Enlarge the jails.

National Secretary KUHN. Are we going to legislate so as to throw an additional burden upon the municipality?

The CHAIRMAN. Are we not taxpayers?

Delegate SIMPSON. Good way of burdening the bourgeoisie.

Delegate MAC TIER. I see no necessity for this convention nominating the National Executive Committee, if, after we have turned them down, the section which has been chosen as the seat of that Committee will itself have to give us some other men in their places. I want the section that has been nominated for the seat of the National Executive Committee to nominate the members of the National Executive Committee and submit them to the Party for a vote.

Delegate CARLESS. As Comrade Kuhn has said, it is advisable for us to change the method of electing the National Executive Committee. I have suggested to Comrade Curran that it would probably be best to refer this matter back to the Committee on Constitution. I believe that the committee can come in again with a proposition that would meet with the unanimous approval of this convention. I believe that this convention should nominate the members of the National Executive

Committee. I believe in nominating fourteen and electing seven. The National Executive Committee may be removed to some other city, and in that case it would be more difficult to elect fifteen or even seven than in New York. I believe that the members of the National Executive Committee should be elected from the members of the section at the seat or the sections within a radius of fifteen miles. I move to refer back to the committee this clause relating to the method of electing in the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

Delegate CURRAN. I think I can state for the other members of the committee that they do not want the matter recommitted. There is a radical difference as to whether this National Executive Committee is to consist of seven or fourteen members and whether to nominate fourteen or thirty candidates.

Delegate LAWRY. As one member of the Committee on Constitution, I wish to say that I agree with Comrade Curran. I believe there will be perfect unanimity as far as the committee is concerned, if it is re-committed, to report practically the same as they have done. I think whatever opposition there is is from some section or member who has a grievance against the procedure at the present time, but they do not give any reason for it. The old Committee did its duty, and we simply followed the suggestions of the National Executive Committee in introducing the resolution that we did. It seems to me that if this Committee is elected by the national convention, subject to the approval of the general vote, we have done all that is absolutely necessary for the Party to do. If seven men cannot do the Committee's work, fifteen could not do it. I believe in small committees, because large committees scarcely ever act. This is practically a referendum vote. What more could we desire? It is simply a waste of the time of the convention. It is the desire on the part of many comrades to come here and shoot off their mouths. [Applause.]

The motion to recommit was then put to a vote and lost.

Delegate DINGER. I would like to ask the committee in what way are the delegates from other portions of the country to find out what is the material we have to choose from.

Delegate CURRAN. I think such a thing is like trying to tell a person what we are going to experience when we die. It is the same as to ask how is the Party to know what material will be selected if we allow the section at the seat to nominate. The members must depend upon the Party papers and must have confidence in the delegates and members of the section at the seat whom we know and in whom we have confidence.

The convention then proceeded to vote upon the substitute motion and the various amendments, as follows:

The substitute of Delegate Reid:

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of fifteen members, elected by a general vote of the Party. The section or sections chosen by the convention as the seat of the National Executive Committee shall nominate thirty members in good standing from among its or their own members, the fifteen receiving the highest number of

votes to be elected, whose term of office shall continue from January 1, 1901, until the next national convention.

Lost.

The amendment to the amendment of Delegate Simpson:

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by general vote of the Party from fourteen names submitted by the section which is selected as the seat of the National Executive Committee. Their terms of office to be one year.

Lost.

The amendment of Delegate Kroll:

The national convention shall select fourteen names from among the members of the section chosen as the seat of the National Executive Committee and submit them to a general vote of the Party, the seven receiving the highest vote to be declared the members of the National Executive Committee.

Upon a viva voce vote resulting in a division, this amendment was voted upon by a show of hands, and carried with 43 in favor and 22 against.

Delegate CURRAN. As amended and in line with some suggestions made to the committee, the section reads:

ARTICLE V—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall consist of seven members, the national convention to nominate fourteen members of the section located at the seat of the National Executive Committee and submit them to a general vote of the whole Party, the seven candidates receiving the highest number of votes to constitute the Committee; the call for the general vote to be issued by the National Executive Committee within three weeks after the adjournment of the convention, the members to take office within one week after the announcement of the vote and to hold the same until the next national convention.

Adopted.

Delegate FISH was granted the floor on a question of privilege.

Delegate FISH. I was instructed by Section Philadelphia to vote for the National Executive Committee organized as heretofore. I recognize it simply as a manner, on the part of Section Philadelphia, of testifying to their fidelity to the last National Executive Committee. I desire to change my vote and to be placed on record as voting in the affirmative.

Delegate LAWRY. The work has been hampered by so many amendments and substitute motions, that I move that all amendments, amendments to amendments and substitute motions and all other motions made to change the report of the Committee on Constitution be reduced to writing before they shall be entertained by the Chair.

Seconded and carried.

Chairman Curran then continued with the report of the Committee on Constitution upon Article V.

Section 2. Vacancies in the Committee shall be filled as follows: For every vacancy the seat of the Committee shall nominate two candidates to be submitted after the manner provided in the preceding section to a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 3. Every candidate, before his name is submitted to a general vote of the whole Party, shall sign a pledge to support the Party, its principles, declared resolutions and tactics, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary. [Applause.]

Section 4. The Committee, or any member thereof, may be removed by a general vote of the whole Party on the motion of five state executive committees, the movers to accompany their motion with written charges to be inserted in the call for the general vote together with the answer of the Committee or the member so charged. The seat of the Committee shall designate a state executive committee, not a party to the proceedings, to receive the general vote and canvass and announce the result.

Section 5. In case of the resignation of the whole or a majority of the Committee, the seat of the Committee shall fill the vacancies temporarily through their general committee and at once proceed to fill the vacancies permanently as provided under Section 2 of this article.

Section 6. The Committee shall elect from its members a recording secretary and a treasurer.

Section 7. The National Executive Committee has for its duty:

- a. To carry out the resolutions of the national convention and those adopted by general vote.
- b. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.
- c. To render final decision in all appeals made to it where no state organization exists.
- d. To expel or suspend and reorganize any state executive committee or section and to suspend any editor of a Party publication guilty of disloyalty.
- e. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.
- f. To make all necessary preparations for the national convention, and make a full report to such convention on all Party matters.
- g. To issue to the sections semi-annually and in sufficient number copies of a report on the Party's finances.
- h. To submit propositions to a general vote. A proposition sent from any section if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different States, shall be submitted to a general vote, but if in the opinion of the Committee the proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless five per cent. of all the sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it.
- i. To be represented at the national convention by one of its own members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice, and shall bear no other credentials. [Amended later.—Secretary of the Convention.]
- k. To annually and in due time call upon the sections to make nominations for not more than three delegates to represent the Party in the annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the delegates to be elected from the nominees by a general vote.
- l. To issue application cards bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the Party and the duties required from the applicant.
- m. To publish in the official Party organs all expulsions and suspensions reported and all its decisions on appeals.

Section 8. The Committee may make its own order of business and may compensate its officers from the Party treasury according to the labor performed.

Section 9. [Added later.—Secretary of the Convention.]

National Secretary KUHN. A portion of the article the chairman read is to be found under "4. b." in the old constitution. It strikes me we have overlooked something there which is a remnant of former constitutions—"To be represented in the national convention by *one of its own members*, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials." At one time the National Secretary was a member of the National Executive Committee and he was the representative of the National Executive

Committee in the convention and had there no vote. Practically, there is a violation of the constitution, as it stands to-day, because the National Executive Committee has not in this convention a representative that is one of its members. The National Secretary has long since ceased to be a member of the National Executive Committee. At one time he was; he is no longer. This has been overlooked. It appears to me that the National Secretary can represent the Committee just as well, because, if a member of the Committee is to be here in addition, it would simply cost more money. Besides, members of the Committee may be elected delegates. They are here in that form.

Delegate CURARN. Then your idea is: "To be represented in the national convention by the National Secretary." If there is no objection by the other members of the committee and the convention, we will insert that.

Delegate SANIAL. It has been adopted now and it would have to be reconsidered. I therefore move to reconsider the clause "To be represented in the national convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials," and to insert in its place the following:

To be represented in the national convention by the National Secretary, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice, and shall bear no other credentials.

Adopted.

Delegate SIMPSON. I wish to propose an additional clause or amendment to the report of the committee as a whole, "to exclude from the membership of the National Executive Committee all salaried employees of the National Executive Committee," my amendment being to exclude all men who are permanently employed or appointed and paid by the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

Delegate SIMPSON. In the first place, I mean only the men who are permanently employed by the National Executive Committee. It has been provided by the Committee on Constitution that the National Executive Committee can remunerate any of its members for work done by him. Now that doesn't militate against this proposition; it doesn't militate against the proposition of the committee, for I speak only of men permanently employed, and moreover I speak only of men permanently employed by the National Executive Committee. This would not exclude a man employed in the Party not by the National Executive Committee but by some other subdivision or committee of the Party. The reason why I move this is, I think, pretty obvious. It has been the rule to exclude the National Secretary from the National Executive Committee, also the editors of Party papers. The motive of this, I take it, was in order to have a National Executive Committee that shall not be biased in its opinions, in its judgment, by men whose living depends on this very National Executive Committee, not to have its judgment warped by men who are members of this National Executive Committee and who are to determine the salaries, the conditions of work, etc., of the men appointed by the National Executive Committee. My motion would really mean simply to extend the present

provision of the constitution to all employees besides the National Secretary and editors of Party papers.

We must regard what may happen. We are going to have in New York the *Daily People* run by the National Executive Committee. Other institutions of the Party may come into existence; some of them are already in existence; and the National Executive Committee will appoint men, and salary them and so on. A large number of employees of the National Executive Committee are thus drawn to the seat of the National Executive Committee. These men, I take it, are generally intelligent men, perhaps some above the average, men liable to be easily elected to the National Executive Committee. Now, if we permit these men who are working under the National Executive Committee to get on it, we may arrive at a situation in which a majority of the National Executive Committee will become composed of its own employees. This I would consider a very unfortunate situation for the Party, that the judgment of the National Executive Committee of the Party should be warped or might possibly be warped by motives resulting from personal material interests. We well know that in the past the Party has had to suffer considerable from the fact that some of its comparatively well-known members depended for their living on "pure and simple" trade unions. We accept, as a rule, the principle which is almost generally accepted by all men, that personal, material interests dominate the motives and actions of men; and I say that if this is possible anywhere else, it is also possible on the National Executive Committee, and we ought to avoid it. Some one has said that, if that be the case, then the very best men, the most intelligent men, who, for the reason of their intelligence and capacity have been appointed to the National Executive Committee, would be excluded from it. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would rather see the National Executive Committee composed of second-rate material, but of independent men, than of the very best men the Party can have who depend for their living on the Party. [Applause.] There is no danger, Mr. Chairman and comrades, that the Party will go wrong because the composition of the National Executive Committee is not of the very best material. All we want is to have wage-earners on that Committee, and I want to see that Committee composed as exclusively as possible, or as largely as possible, of wage-earners who come directly from the shop and know the feeling of the men in the shop and can determine the policy of the Party in this way. [Applause.] Of course, we all know that the opinions of these men, the wage-workers, whom we wish to be on this Committee, will be very largely affected and influenced by the editors of the Party and the National Secretary. That is what we want. We want wage-workers in the Party to come in constant contact with the intelligence of the Party, so-called, but at the same time we must have the wage-workers who know how the men feel in the shop; their judgment, moreover, helped along by the best science and knowledge in the Party, to come to an independent and unwarped conclusion. [Applause.]

Delegate DALTON. The remarks of Delegate Simpson in this matter are very good, but it appears to me that if we got a National Executive Committee who would be so swayed by their material interests that they would forget the duty they owed to the working class, then

and in that case we would also have a National Executive Committee that would stoop a long way to carry out any plan or any scheme that would benefit them. The National Executive Committee could then employ itself temporarily—if this is only to exclude permanently employed men—and they could say, we have only employed Comrade So and So for a week or a month or six weeks, and then they could temporarily employ him again for a month or six weeks, and so on. The ideas advanced are good. While, as a rule, men are swayed by their material interests and while we rest on that foundation as a whole, yet we must place some dependence, some confidence, some trust somewhere and in some men. If the working class of New York, or wherever the seat of the National Executive Committee is located, cannot select men in whose honesty and integrity it has enough confidence to say that, no matter what their own material interests may be, the few dollars of wages they may get, we can trust them, then it looks rather hopeless for this plan of Delegate Simpson, because, if they cannot find that kind of men, then they must find the kind of men who will go in there and by shifts and evasions get around and twist around this permanently employed proposition; and Delegate Simpson himself says he doesn't want it to apply to the temporarily employed ones, and couldn't make it apply. I would like to see all the safeguards thrown around the National Executive Committee that is possible, but to me this plan appears not at all advisable. You have got to trust to somebody, repose confidence in somebody. This talk that all men are crooked—although I do not mean to say that he said that—but the idea that all men can be swayed by those few dollars, if that is true, we will be in the air and the proletarian revolution can never be accomplished.

Delegate KINNEALLY. I cordially endorse the stand taken by Comrade Simpson and I think it is just in time. As Comrade Simpson has well said, we are about entering into the establishment of the *Daily People*, that will bring upon the Executive Committee great responsibilities and more employees than what we now have under such Committee. Now we cannot say, nor we do not propose to say, that there are amongst us, either in the Executive Committee or amongst the trusted men, or men whom we have entrusted with certain work of the Party, we cannot say that they are dishonest in any shape, form or manner, and we don't propose to say so. But, if it was nothing more than the appearance and the possibilities, not the probabilities, of two or three or more men being elected, honest, with the best of intentions, being elected to the National Executive Committee, no man can doubt for a moment or question the possibility of those men being swayed by material interests. We are not angels, none of us; we are not perfect; and we are liable—it is possible for us—to be swayed in that Committee by our material interests; and to guard against such possibilities, I believe we should adopt the additional clause proposed by Comrade Simpson. When we say "employees," we do not say a man sent out on the road to organize sections for a week, or a month, or a few days. We mean a steady employee of the National Executive Committee. I have no doubt that is what he means. [Delegate Simpson nods assent.] I have been in the Committee two or three years, and I believe it is a proper resolution in the proper time.

Delegate PIERCE. I regret that when Delegate Simpson presented

his resolution to-day, he did not present it with the remarks or observations that accompanied it a couple of days ago. For various reasons or two or three reasons, I would like to speak for a moment about that question of material interests. If I remember rightly, in one part of his observations he referred to the manager of the Labor News Company and stated that, if it be true that material interests move men, then we had better be on our guard—something of that sort, if not exactly those words. Now this clause has been in the constitution, I believe, about as long as the Party has been a Party :

The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers, according to the labors performed by them, from the treasury of the Party.

The National Executive Committee to-day elects a recording secretary and a treasurer, and has elected them for a number of years, yet I do not believe that the National Executive Committee has ever had its material interests so prominent as to compensate the treasurer or the recording secretary of the N. E. C. It would seem as though, if their material interests had moved them in that direction, they would have proceeded to loot the Party treasury as soon as they got a chance. Again, if material interests swayed men into the Party and to attempt any increase in their salary or wages, they may rest assured that no sooner did they make such an attempt than they would find themselves outside of the Party and outside of every opportunity to get a living off the Party. So far as I am individually concerned, it matters not to me whether this amendment is passed or not, if in the observations made a couple days ago a personal attack or personal representation had not been made as to the manager of the Labor News Company. Simpson might have gone back a year ago or half a year ago, when other members of Section New York belonging to the N. E. C. were put on work that occupied them two, three and four months and were paid out of the treasury of the N. E. C.; he never thought of that. He could have gone to the business department of the *Daily People* to-day, and found men there, whose selection is fixed by the N. E. C.; he never thought of that. He could have gone to the mechanical department to-day, where men are employed by the N. E. C., and he never thought of that.

Delegate NOONAN. I rise to a point of order, that these different remarks are not strictly to the question.

Delegate FIERCE. Very well then, I will come to the question. "The editors of the Party papers were not allowed to be members of the National Executive Committee because their material interests might sway them to attempt to enlarge their salaries." I have been looking that up quite a good deal, and I failed to discover any such evidence. They were not allowed to be members of the National Executive Committee, not because the Party was afraid they would raise their salaries, but because the Party said: "You are the editors of the Party organs; the National Executive Committee determines the policy of those organs, it has to give you its orders, and therefore you shall not be upon the National Executive Committee." But to say that we have said to De Leon and Vogt and the others, "You shall not be members of the National Executive Committee because, if you were, you would try to

raise your wages because of your material interests," is an insult to manhood.

Again, as to the *Daily People*. We must guard against this, because there are to be numerous employees of the National Executive Committee. There will be a reportorial staff, there will be the business department, and there will be the mechanical department. We must have men tried and true in every one of those departments. The twelve, fourteen, fifteen reporters, the twenty or twenty-five mechanics, the others in the business department, will have to be men on whom the Party from experience knows it can rely. You say to the reporters, You cannot go on the N. E. C., because, if you do, you will probably loot the Party treasury. You say to the business department, None of you can go on the N. E. C., because if you do you will loot the Party treasury. You say to the operators, You cannot go on the N. E. C., because if you do you will loot the Party treasury. And you will take from the best timber for the National Executive Committee three-fourths, if not four fifths, of the strongest, most energetic and zealous elements in the Party in the city of New York. It is very good in abstract principle, but it is simply a wooden application of that principle; and aside from all personal feeling, I believe that, if the national convention endorses it, it may reach a time when it will regret it. A couple of months ago the N. E. C. in office at that time was compelled, by the law, to resign. Two months from now perhaps the N. E. C. may be compelled by the courts to resign; four months from now the next National Executive Committee may be compelled by the courts, probably will be compelled, to resign, for they are bound to try to stop the *Daily People*. There you have three National Executive Committees out of office and debarred by the law from going into office. You have got your editorial staff debarred from going into the N. E. C.; you have got your reporters debarred from going into the N. E. C.; you have got your mechanics debarred from going into the N. E. C., and what have you got left? I disagree with that idea.

Delegate KROLL. It seems to me that the manager of the Labor News Company is getting unduly excited as to the meaning of the clause proposed to the constitution in relation to membership of the National Executive Committee. I favored that clause when read this afternoon, not because I had any idea that any member of the National Executive Committee in receipt of a salary would endeavor to loot the Party treasury, but because I believe that a man who is in the employ of the N. E. C., supposed to receive orders from the N. E. C., should not make his own orders for himself [applause]; that if the N. E. C. puts an organizer into the field or puts anybody in a position to do certain work, and the N. E. C. sees fit to criticize, sees fit to find fault with him, if necessary, to discharge him, that man shall not be on the Committee to safeguard his own material interests by his action on that Committee. [Applause.] And it will not require a base individual, an uncommon individual, to protect himself, and provide for himself from suffering from his own mistakes. If a man on the N. E. C., through tired feeling, listlessness, lack of energy, fails to do his duty, he wants his job, and if he is on the N. E. C. he will use his in-

fluence to make it a little easier for himself to beg off and get another chance. We want nothing of the kind. When men are under the orders of the Party, they should be subject to the orders and have no influence on the source of those orders any more than any other individual member of the Party who is not an employee. I believe it would be better for the morale of the Party, for the active force, better for the men in receipt of a salary, if they were entirely independent of the source from which orders come. And it has been my firm conviction for a long time, from experience in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, from experience in other parts of the country, that the very saddest of all things happens when an energetic worker is obliged to become a salaried official of the Party. I only wish all the work of the Party could be done without a single man receiving a single cent of compensation. [Applause.] As I said to our State Committee in Rhode Island, and to our District Alliance, we must put off the engagement of a salaried officer, a salaried secretary, or a salaried official of any kind, just as long as the interests of the Party will permit.

While there may be advantages to be gained from having some one permanently employed, there are injuries that necessarily follow that are no good to the Party and that may outweigh the benefits derived. I believe that those comrades who are doing work that can be done without compensation can do far more work and accomplish more for the cause and have more weight with the rank and file and with outsiders, if they do their work without compensation than if they are paid officials of the Party. [Applause.] While I clearly see the point that it is quite likely when it comes to the selection that the national organizers, editors and reporters, the best from the Party, will be chosen, just the material that is needed on the National Executive Committee, I believe it will be less injurious to the cause as a whole to have these two departments distinctly different than to have the same men in each position, and I therefore favor the proposition of Comrade Simpson, not with the slightest idea or desire of having any one think for a single moment that I fear anybody on the National Executive Committee will endeavor to loot the Party treasury, but because I believe it will be for the best interests of the Party to have the commanding portion of the organization distinctly different from those who are part of the machine and supposed to obey orders. [Applause.]

Delegate MEYER. We are passing through a crisis, and this crisis has shown that material interests do actually play a figure in our Party. The *Volkszeitung* was at one time undoubtedly a Socialist organ, but why did the *Volkszeitung* steer from its straight course? Simply in order to get salaries, uphold their jobs, get their \$20 a week or whatever it was. It is only a short time ago the Minneapolis proposition was proposed to the Party, that organizers should be employed for a large salary and they should be the Executive Committee at the same time. What was underlying the principle of that proposition? Nothing but material interests, and as soon as you allow material interests to sway the movement from the straight course you will find that a great many men looking for jobs, having no interest in the principles of Socialism, will be aiming to get a position in the Socialist Labor Party, and then we will see our Party in the hands of

fakirs just exactly the same as the American Federation of Labor. [Applause.] I am not saying a word about the men who are in the movement at the present time, but there are men who will do their best to get into these positions, where they can pay themselves and have soft snaps. We must prevent this and keep the Socialist Labor Party in the straight path.

Delegate SCHULBERG. We must all not lose sight of one fact, that is, this day we are going to select fourteen men to be put before the Party membership to be voted on as our members of our National Executive Committee. We do not know whether these men will be paid officials or not. We will select them as the best men for the positions. Now, mark you this: Does a man, because he sets type on *The People*, cease to be a wage-slave? Does a man, because he writes an account for *The People*, cease to be a workingman? Comrade Simpson considers what we want upon the National Committee are true proletarians. Are they not true proletarians when they work for the Party? And I assure you that, with men who are willing to throw down the gauntlet against the capitalist class, no one dare monkey with the buzz-saw of the S. L. P., if they are crooked, joining the Party only for paid salaries. We are too strong, too powerful, to allow such a petty reason to stand in our way of putting the best men of the Party in the best positions we can possibly give them. It is for the best interest of the Party to select men worthy of the positions, regardless of the salaries they receive. We know that the salaries that go to some of our men are very small compared with the amount of work they do. We have to have salaried men. Because a man working on *The People* works much longer than the ordinary workingman in a shop, he doesn't find time to earn a living outside. And take, for instance, the manager of the Labor News Company. Some of us know the small salary he receives. You can go on Sundays, you can see him working; you can go at seven or eight o'clock at night, you see him working; and because he works for the Party, because he gets a small salary, he is an unfit person to be upon our National Executive Committee.

Delegate MATTHEWS. Point of order, Mr. Chairman. The speaker is becoming personal.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is well taken. I must request that the mention of personalities cease.

Delegate SCHULBERG. That was what the thing aimed at.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no right to make any such statement as that. You must refrain from any remarks in the nature of a personal attack on any one.

Delegate SCHULBERG. I make no personal attack on anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. You said a personal attack was made.

Delegate SCHULBERG. I merely said because the manager of the Labor News Company receives a small salary, he is an unfit person to go on the National Executive Committee. I did not reflect upon any one. We must take the best men for the best positions. We must use our best forces, and we must do that because at this time the Party is in a crisis. At this time especially we have got to face the entire forces of capitalism, with all its "pure and simple" allies. And when we go to work, if we pick out weak men; if, inside of six months, we

have four National Executive Committees, we finally resort to weak men, we can do no work, and what position is the Party in? We cannot take the men who are working on *The People*; we cannot take the men who have other positions. And it is foolish to contend that material interests move revolutionary Socialists all the time. The men who have turned traitors in the past were old men, men who did not understand the necessity of a class-conscious movement composed of Americans, and these men turned traitors. It was their business interests. And besides, to-day you are to elect men for the National Executive Committee. How do you know that the men you elect will or will not in future have positions upon *The People*? And furthermore, we must never forget this fact, that, if a man is unfit to go upon the National Executive Committee, that material interests move him, he is unfit to go on *The People* or anywhere else.

Delegate CURRAN. I am sorry to hear Comrade Schulberg and Comrade Pierce tell us the disastrous future ahead for the National Executive Committee. [Laughter.] I was just wondering, if we were going on a vote for the seat of the National Executive Committee, if such a future would be predicted for us. If so, I am afraid New York would run a pretty close shave of losing that seat. [Laughter.] If we are going to have the National Executive Committee knocked in the head every few months, we will have to put it somewhere else where it will escape all that. [Laughter.] If there are such good workers in the Party in Section New York and if they are on the National Executive Committee and we need them for salaried officers, we should pull them off the National Executive Committee and put others in their places. We are always told that the work of this Committee is very onerous. If so, it is sufficient to attend to the duties of the Party, by no means very light just now, and in future they will not be much lighter, so that they can give their attention to the executive work of the Party. I agree with Comrade Simpson's resolution in the main. When it appeared before the committee, it appeared in a somewhat different form, and the remainder of the committee acted upon it in my absence—as I had other work to do and couldn't give it attention—but I understood then that it provided for everybody who was receiving a salary, whether he was permanently employed or temporarily, and consequently I could see objections to it. In its present form I think it advisable, provided Comrade Simpson will make an exception for the recording secretary and treasurer, who may be compensated under the present rules, and I presume he will make that exception. As to the objection made by Comrade Dalton that all these officers may dodge and by peculiar tricks supposed to be known only to legal gentlemen [laughter], give themselves salaries temporarily and then again discharge themselves and then again employ themselves for a few months, if our National Executive Committee resorts to any such measures, we will take care of it. [Applause.] But on general principles, as Comrade Kroll has well put it, there should be no National Executive Committee giving itself orders and paying itself salaries. Whether or not there is any danger of such officers, if they appoint themselves to salaried positions, looting the treasury of the Party, I, for one, do not believe, and my vote shall not go to put them

in a position where they can loot it if they choose to do it. You may talk all you want about "morality," but we have heard about it from the gentry we have heretofore put into political offices from "moral" considerations and seen them hit us on the head every time from material considerations. On that account, I believe, strictly arguing on class lines, on material interests that have dictated our propaganda and our platform and exemplified by classes that have ruled heretofore, if we wish to hold true to our doctrines, we must put our National Executive Committee free from all incentive to misrule in any way; and if the seat of the National Executive Committee cannot provide us, by reason of local contingencies or otherwise, a Committee that can do our work, there is only one thing for the Party to do. The National Executive Committee will either have to move its offices somewhere else, or the plant that causes all these local difficulties and around which the *Volkszeitung* and its carrion birds are floating will have to be removed somewhere where injunction judges and Tammany cannot touch it. [Applause.]

Delegate TECHE. I will state this, with no insinuation whatsoever to those men that are now employed by the Party—or, as was stated by Comrade Schulberg, has been stated here, that, because they are employed by the Party, they are not fit for the National Executive Committee: that is not my idea. They may be as fit and as good as the best men; but let us say that New York should be chosen as the seat of the National Executive Committee. Have we not got a thousand comrades here in New York, and is it not possible from a thousand comrades to choose seven that are not employed by the Party and will do the work? [Applause.] I have been on the National Executive myself for a couple of years. I never would or could or will accept any job, but I insist that as soon as any of the members of the National Executive Committee accepts any job paid in one way or another, he has no right on that Committee; and I think that we can get comrades that will serve independent of all material interests, serve as they have done and do now without pay and without being affiliated with the Party's work. You can talk as much as you like, comrades, about morality, fitness, honesty, fairness, and so on, but in the experience which I have had for the last twelve years in the Socialist Labor Party and in other parties before, I have always found that even the very best of men will be swayed, and I have even found that many good men, as soon as they got a job in the Party where they were paid, good organizers, good talkers, good workers, when they got a job on the *Volkszeitung*, they would say to me in the evening: "I have worked the whole day for the Party, now I work for myself." I told the comrades that I worked the whole day to make a living and in the evening I worked for the Party; "If you work for the Party in the day-time, you can as well as me give your evenings to the Party without compensation." But I found this to be the case, that, as a rule, our very best and most trusted men are such that when they work for the Party, they consider their work done when the day is over. And maybe you will turn around and say, Well, these men turned Kangaroos. But I know the reason they turned Kangaroos. I do not know who will be the members that will be chosen in the future, but I say we can get a National Executive Committee in New York—if not,

somewhere else—consisting of members that are not paid a salary. "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure." [Applause.] "Opportunity makes the thief." I do not want to insinuate that our members are thieves or rascals or anything like that, but I say, remove all temptation and you will keep the movement pure.

Delegate SPETTEL. This talk about having to have "intelligent" men is all bosh. Up in Minnesota we thought so, too, for a while, and we allowed the "best brains" in the Party to dictate to us just as some comrades are trying to do here now. Algernon Lee, Dr. Hirschfield, George Leonard, a lawyer [laughter], Tom Lucas, professional speaker—they said, We must have the National Executive Committee changed—there are lots of good men around in the country that are more capable of attending to the executive work of the Party. And they drew up a resolution, and it was printed in all the papers except *The People*. And what became of our "intelligent" men? The rank and file, the shovellers, and switch tenders and the wood sawyers, had to grab the lawyers and the doctors and the professional men by the neck and throw them out. [Great applause.] We must take these precautions. If we had taken such precautions two years ago, you would not have Algernon Lee here editing that bogus paper. I hope that this convention will put up the gates against all this as much and as strong as possible.

Delegate KATZ. I believe I sympathize with the idea of this resolution submitted by Comrade Simpson, and I believe that it would have been adopted without debate had not Comrade Simpson previously presented a form of resolutions that referred personally to Comrade Pierce and which I say was an insult to Comrade Pierce. [Applause.] These resolutions that have been presented referred to Comrade Pierce, and I know—and the other delegates of New York know it, too—that when Comrade Pierce accepted the position of manager of the Labor News Company it was a sacrifice on his part, and he could have a higher salary than he has now while he is a member of the National Executive Committee. While there may be crooks all over the country, it doesn't follow that every man who accepts a job from the Party is dishonest; and I simply wish to make this statement, that it was not fair—to put it very mildly—on the part of Comrade Simpson to allow some things which we do not know anything about, but are simply matters of personal animosity—to make an attempt at the convention upon as sincere and faithful a comrade as Comrade Pierce. [Applause.]

Delegate PIERCE. When I was nominated as candidate for National Executive, it was at no solicitation of mine.

Delegate SIMPSON. I have been charged with introducing my resolution for the sake of insulting Delegate Pierce. I should not take it up—being a personal matter, I would like to exclude it from this debate—but this will come up before this convention and then I should be in a position to state whether or not I have or have not insulted the comrade. In the first place, I could not have intended to insult those men who work in the Party and are remunerated by the Party, for I am just now myself a job-holder. They seem to have forgotten that I am an editor of a Party paper and a job-holder. I could not, therefore, have intended to insult salaried employees of the Party.

Delegate Pierce has said that it was intended to exclude editors merely because they had to do with tactics. Not at all: that there could be no suspicion as to salary and so on. Now, in my resolution it had been stated: these men who are appointed by the National Executive Committee, whose salary and conditions of work are determined by the National Executive Committee. "Conditions of work" determine everything else. It is the most general phrase I could possibly get to cover tactics, hours of labor, mode of work, subdivision, and all that; and so no one could accuse me of appealing to the sordid motives of men. It has been stated here that men elected by the convention may get, after that, positions under the National Committee. In that case, I believe those men should get off the National Executive Committee, and we will elect others in their place. One of the points which I mentioned was this, that I wish to see on this National Executive Committee wage-workers who come directly from the shops and know how the wage-workers feel. These men being on the National Executive Committee, can direct the work of the National Executive Committee to suit the temperament, the wishes, the whims even of these wage-workers. They know better how to appeal to them than men who are out of the shops and do not come in contact with the wage-workers, men who are in a way separated from the great mass of the wage-workers in the shop. That is the important consideration. This system prevails, as I believe, in Belgium. The Executive Committee there is composed exclusively, almost, of wage-workers, though of course the Party editors, Party leaders and so on, can come before the Executive Committee and state their views. That is not excluded, and that was not the purpose. It has also been stated here that the National Executive Committee may get in hot water over and over again, and if we do not elect these men from employees, where shall we take them from? It seems to me the membership of Section New York is larger than the number of employees, and if we cannot get them from the employees, we will go to the membership who are not employees and send them up there. I agree entirely with Comrade Curran that if it is not possible for Section New York or any other section to elect the members of the National Executive Committee unless they come from the ranks of the employees of the National Executive Committee, then I would sooner see the seat of the National Executive Committee removed to any out-of-the-way place, even to Timbuctoo, even there, rather than to see it under the control of the employees of the Party.

Delegate CURRAN. In voting on this resolution, I believe Comrade Simpson accepts the proviso that this excepts the recording secretary and the treasurer of the National Executive Committee?

Delegate SIMPSON. Yes.

National Secretary KUHN. There is no need of this exception, from the fact that those positions have never been paid and never will be paid.

Delegate CURRAN. There is a provision already adopted that the Committee may compensate its officers, and these are the officers.

The clause proposed by Comrade Simpson, as follows:

No permanent, salaried employee of the Committee, excepting its

own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee*—

was then voted upon and adopted.

Delegate SIMPSON. I believe now is the time for a personal explanation.

Delegate Zolot objects.

Delegate KIRCHER. Mr. Chairman, I object to one delegate occupying the time of this convention. I have been trying for three days to get the floor. A few comrades here are given the floor continually. I object.

Delegate McKEOWN. On a question of privilege he has a right to explain himself.

Delegate KIRCHER. We can all rise to it.

Delegate SIMPSON. Three delegates have accused me of having wantonly insulted a delegate to this body. I wish to leave it to this convention whether that impression ought to be left on the minds of the delegates, who do not know whether I have or have not insulted this delegate. I leave it to the will of the chairman of this convention.

Delegate DINGER. I think that matter is a thing the two delegates can settle between themselves. [Laughter.]

Delegate KATZ. I move we proceed with the regular order of business.

So ordered.

Delegate CURRAN. The next article we will take up is the one marked in the old constitution Article VIII, and in the new constitution—

ARTICLE X—PARTY PRESS.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of all Party organs and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

Section 2. The editors of all official Party organs shall be elected and removed in the same manner as the National Executive Committee—

But this was made with the expectation that the National Executive Committee would be elected by this convention, so that the sense of the committee, of course, is that the editors shall be elected in the same manner as the National Executive Committee was originally proposed to be elected—that is, by the convention—and then submitted to a general vote of the Party, but to be removed in the same manner as the rules adopted direct that the National Executive Committee may be removed, that is, by the section at the seat or by five state committees presenting charges and a general vote to remove. There is something further to go on to that—

but any of the editors who may prove disloyal to the Party or incom-

*This, together with the clause adopted under "Party Press"—"No editor of any Party organ shall be a member of the National Executive Committee"—forms, under Article V, Section 9: "No editor of a Party publication and no permanent, salaried employee of the Committee, excepting its own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee."—Secretary of the Convention.

petent shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Delegate SCHADE. I make a motion that the National Executive Committee have power to employ the editors of the Party press.

Seconded.

A motion was carried to lay Delegate Schade's motion on the table.

Delegate O'FIELLY. I move that the recommendation of the committee be adopted, subject to the amendments already adopted by the convention.

Delegate CURRAN. The idea of the mover is that it be adopted subject to the amendment as to the election of the National Executive Committee. The committee moves that it be adopted as originally provided for the election of the National Executive Committee—that is, that the editor be elected by the convention and the selection be submitted to a general vote of the Party. The motion as made by Comrade O'Fihelly is to the effect that the editor be selected by the section at the seat of the National Executive Committee, and then the selection be submitted to a general vote of the Party.

Delegate CARLESS. According to what Curran says, the sections selected as the seat of the National Executive Committee would nominate. According to the amendments adopted here to-day, we would nominate the editors and then submit the nominations for a general vote, the same as with the National Executive Committee, and if I understand Comrade O'Fihelly's motion correctly, that is what he would do. We would, before this convention adjourns, put in nomination one or two or three candidates for editors of the Party press, and I want the committee to understand that, so that we vote intelligently on it.

Delegate Curran then shaped the matter as follows:

Section 2. The editor of every official Party organ shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 3. The procedure in removing the editor of an official Party organ and in case of a vacancy in his position, shall be the same as that provided for the National Executive Committee under Article V, Sections 4 and 5, but any such editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal shall be at once suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Delegate O'Fihelly thereupon withdrew his motion, and the sections were accepted.

Section 4. The election of editors of other publications recognized as Party organs, but not official, shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall demand from the publishers the immediate removal of an editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal, and in case of non-compliance with this demand the National Executive Committee shall at once repudiate the publication.

Delegate WOLFSON. What is meant by "Party organs not official Party organs"?

Delegate CURRAN. It was adopted on the part of the committee, in line with the desire of the National Executive Committee, to distinguish between a paper such as *The People*, which is absolutely under the supervision of National Executive Committee and the Party.

and a paper such as one that may be run by a section or a member of the Party or a committee of the Party, or run by a publishing association, in another language, and one which the Party does not absolutely own and be responsible for as an official paper.

No editor of any Party organ shall be a member of the National Executive Committee.*

Section 5. No member, committee or section of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested as far as practicable in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of Section 4.

Delegate MEYER. I move to amend that no paper can be an official Party organ unless the editor is elected by the Party and unless the mailing permit be owned by the Party.

Delegate CURRAN. So far as the first part of the amendment is concerned, that is unnecessary, for the editor of any official Party organ must be nominated by the convention and elected by the Party. The other provision, as to the Party owning the mailing list, it is unwise for this convention to go into now and say how we shall own the Party organs or anything relating to it. That should come up in the executive session on the *Daily People*, and we can then decide as to how we shall manage the ownership.

Delegate MEYER. I wished to offer an amendment which would read that any paper, just as soon as those men withdraw their promise that the Party shall elect the editor, then it becomes a private enterprise; because the paper, which through the aid of the Party may have been built up, just as soon as it is built up, otherwise might keep the mailing list and put in another editor.

Delegate CURRAN. The comrade overlooked the provision to the effect that "all the property of such paper shall be vested as far as practicable in the National Executive Committee." That would include the mailing list.

Delegate Reid moved that the amendment of Delegate Meyer be laid on the table until the executive session. Carried.

Delegate REINSTEIN. I move to amend that "the editor of every Party organ except the English Party organ be appointed by the National Executive Committee directly."

Seconded.

Delegate CURRAN. We have already passed the section that the editor of the Party organ shall be selected by the national convention and elected by the Party. The amendment is out of order.

At this point Delegates Schmutz and Herriger asked to be excused, as they were obliged to leave the convention for their homes. Granted.

*Incorporated together with the additional clause proposed by Delegate Simpson in regard to salaried employees of the N. E. C., the whole forming, under Article V, National Executive Committee, Section 9: "No editor of a Party publication and no permanent, salaried employee of the Committee, excepting its own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee."—Secretary of the Convention.

Delegate Dinger made a motion, seconded, that the first order of business at the evening session be the nomination of candidates for members of the National Executive Committee, for National Secretary, and editor of *The People*, and the selection of the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Kroll made a motion, seconded, that the evening session be devoted to an executive session, and that the first order of business be the consideration of the Daily People Report, provided the Committee on Party Press could promise the convention that it could have the report.

Delegate Dinger accepted the amendment with that proviso.

The motion was then carried.

Delegate Katz made a motion, seconded, that Adolph Klein, a member of the Executive Committee of Section New York, be appointed as assistant sergeant-at-arms for the executive session. Adopted.

A collection was then taken up to defray the expenses of the evening session. The amount collected was \$13.50, the expense of the hall for the evening \$5. The remainder was ordered to be forwarded to the Alliance strikers of the Lorraine mills, Rhode Island.

Delegate Curran then re-read the following clause on Party Press, which was assented to by the convention:

Section 4. The election of editors of other publications recognized as Party organs, but not official, shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall demand from the publishers the immediate removal of an editor who may prove disloyal to the Party or incompetent, and in case of non-compliance with this demand the National Executive Committee shall forthwith repudiate the publication.

Greetings (telegram) were then read from Damm and Koepfel, Milwaukee.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

On the roll-call for resolutions, the following were presented:

Resolution of Delegate Kretlow, amendment to Municipal Programme. Referred to Committee on Platform.

Resolution of Delegate Kretlow as to printed circulars for recall of Party's public officials. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Resolution of Delegate Jacobson, endorsing the *Arbetaren*, Referred to Committee on Party Press.

Delegate Lawry made a motion, seconded, that the alternates

present at the evening session be made assistant sergeant-at-arms during the executive session. Carried.

At 6 o'clock the convention adjourned until the evening session.

EVENING SESSION.

Convention called to order at 7 p m.

Roll-call dispensed with.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The Committee on Party Press not being at first ready with their report on the *Daily People*, the convention proceeded to take up the question of the selection of the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Minkley made a motion, seconded, that New York City be the seat of the National Executive Committee.

National Secretary KUHN. Before we can proceed, we should first adopt that portion of the constitution which gives the national convention the right to select the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Curran thereupon read the following section, in the old constitution Article VI, Section 4, but under the new constitution—

ARTICLE VII—NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 7. The national convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seat of the National Executive Committee, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party. A majority vote shall be necessary in selecting the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Adopted.

Delegate Schade made a motion, seconded, that New York be the seat of the National Executive Committee. Carried unanimously.

Delegate Curran made a motion, seconded, that the convention take up the consideration of the article of the constitution relating to the National Secretary. Carried.

Delegate Curran thereupon proceeded to read the following new article:

ARTICLE VI—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 2. His term of office shall be the same as that of the National Executive Committee, and he shall sign a pledge similar to the one required of candidates for the National Executive Committee.

Section 3. The procedure in removing the National Secretary from

office and in case of a vacancy in his position shall be the same as provided for the National Executive Committee under Article V, Sections 4 and 5.

Section 4. He shall be the Financial Secretary of the Party and shall act as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He shall not be a member of the National Executive Committee, but shall have an advisory voice in all its proceedings.

Delegate Curran then moved the adoption of the article as a whole. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Hickey made a motion, seconded, that the "seat" include all the sections in the city of Greater New York. Carried.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

The convention then proceeded with nominations for National Secretary for the ensuing term. The present incumbent, Comrade Henry Kuhn, was the sole nominee, and was elected by a unanimous rising vote, amid great applause. In response to repeated calls for a speech, he said:

I can surely say that the unanimity with which the convention has nominated me is a pleasant experience. It is a reward, as it were, in a way, for the manner in which the Party's work has been attended to in the past, a recognition, at least. I shall not detain you with a speech, although a speech has been called for. All I have to say is, as I have done in the past, I shall do in the future. [Applause.] If occasion arises within the Party to defend the position of the Party against enemies without or within, I shall stand where I stood before [applause] to the best of my ability, with all the power I possess, physically and otherwise. [Applause and laughter.]

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The convention then proceeded with the nominations for members of the National Executive Committee. The following are the names of those nominated who expressed their willingness to stand: Joheph H. Sauter, William Wherry, Adolph Klein, Justus Ebert, John Keveney, Julius Hammer, Rudolph Katz, Eber Forbes, S. Levin, Adam Moren, Alfred C. Kihn, George Luck, K. Walberg, A. W. Wegman.

National Secretary KUHN (referring to the declinations of some of the old members to stand again as nominees, on account of legal difficulties that might arise to the Party). It would not be advisable to nominate them, or for them to accept, because the injunction against them still holds good, and if they again stand as candidates and are elected, immediately the hands of the *Volkszeitung* would be strengthened and every employee on *The People* will be considered the agent of that member of the National Executive Committee or members of the National Executive Committee who are enjoined, and they can reach out and gather in the employees, editors, compositors, whosoever may work on *The People*, unless you make a complete change in the name of *The People*; then all these objections would be removed. You must bear this in mind, that while the name of *The People* stands as it

stands to-day these men are enjoined from having anything to do with it, and under the interpretation of the court as given in the decision of Bischoff the members of the National Executive Committee who are enjoined would again bring the Party into trouble.

Delegate SANIAL. I would have declined for the reasons given by Comrade Kuhn, among others, but I would have declined besides because I think that what I could do on the National Executive Committee has been done. I never desired to be a member of the National Executive Committee. I am getting old. I am occupied, as you know, in other work, a certain work, which I deem of importance, and which takes my time. I am somewhat of an invalid on account of my eyesight and attendance at the evening meetings hurts me. But when I smelt a fight [laughter], for the first time I accepted. [Applause]. The fighting is over, the battle is won, and I trust that there are younger men here who could well fill the place of any member of the National Executive Committee. If ever the Party should want an old man again, I think I will be at their service. [Applause.]

Delegate PIERCE. As I understand it, at the present time the employees of the mechanical department of *The People* are paid by the treasurer of the Board of Trustees, that their wages are not fixed by the National Executive Committee, but by the business manager of *The People*. It would therefore appear to me that, under the present management of *The People*, that the employees in the mechanical department are not, except in an indirect manner, salaried employees of the N. E. C.

Delegate DINGER. I can see no difference between being employed directly or indirectly by the N. E. C. An employee of *The People*, sitting in the National Executive Committee, would be the boss of his own boss.

National Secretary KUHN. This question will depend very largely upon the manner in which this convention decides the *Daily People* shall be conducted, whether the *Daily People* shall be directly under the business management of the National Executive Committee or whether the exigencies of the situation will make necessary another arrangement. It appears to me, so far as I can size up the situation, that it would be most unwise to place the business management of *The People* under the direct supervision or control of the National Executive Committee, because upon any legal trouble that the National Executive Committee might get tangled up in, immediately the property of the paper could be attached, and therefore the present arrangement was entered into. That is to say, a Board of Trustees, composed of three, was appointed, and these administered the business for the Socialist Labor Party. Whatever property has been purchased up to this day in the way of linotype machines, press, and all other portions of the *Daily People* plant, has been purchased by those trustees for the Socialist Labor Party, and they hold it in trust for the Socialist Labor Party. The National Executive Committee has at present absolutely nothing to do with the *Daily People* or in fact with the publication of the *Weekly People*, for that matter. Whether the situation is such, or will be considered such, by this convention, as to continue such an arrangement, or whether the whole business management will be placed under the direct control of the Na-

tional Executive Committee—upon the decision of that question will depend whether the employees of the *Daily People* are eligible as to membership in the N. E. C.

Delegate SIMPSON. Whether the *Daily People* or any other Party paper is directly managed by the N. E. C. or by a manager appointed by the N. E. C., or by a manager appointed by a committee appointed by the N. E. C., I still hold that the *Daily People* is virtually and in fact managed by the N. E. C., for in the N. E. C. is lodged the power at any time to change the form of organization, to take action with regard to the *Daily People*. That is my understanding of it, and the same is true of every other undertaking of the Party which is practically under the control of the N. E. C., though the N. E. C. may for a time have transferred its authority to some other committee. It is clear, and I am willing to go back to the debate on this motion of mine before. I believe it was made as clear as possible to all the delegates that the object of the motion was this very purpose of making it impossible that the N. E. C. should be composed in large part or in majority or in whole of the employees of the N. E. C. I regard the attempts to put up questions now as to what the meaning of that measure adopted was as attempts to nullify the action of the convention. I cannot regard it in any other light. No matter what we think of these matters, we know that the matter potentially is at all times in the hands of the N. E. C., even if it has deputed its power to another committee.

National Secretary KUHN. Simpson is somewhat in error, that is to say, he doesn't seem to conceive the position very clearly. If it be understood that the National Executive Committee appoints this Board of Trustees, there would be no sense in that, might as well control it directly. If we want to safeguard that press against any possible attacks via the N. E. C., then this convention would have to appoint this board separate and distinct from the N. E. C., and it would then not be bound, and could not be treated as an agent of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate DE LEON. I would request that those names be left out for another reason. Whether directly or indirectly under the N. E. C., I do not believe it cuts any figure; it is a purely academic question, in view of the fact that, being employed on the *Daily People*, they will have to do night work and will not be able to attend the meetings of the National Executive Committee.

It was then moved and seconded that the nominations of candidates for members of the National Executive Committee be postponed until after the executive session. Carried.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

The convention thereupon, for the purpose of hearing the report of the Press Committee upon the *Daily People*, went into executive session.

After the report of Secretary Dalton, of the Press Committee, and a lengthy discussion thereon, Delegates Brown and Fish, members of the Press Committee, were appointed a committee to go

to the Daily People office and prepare a detailed financial report on the *Daily People* to be presented to the convention Thursday afternoon. Delegate Vogt was also instructed to appear before the convention at the same time to supply information as to the *Daily People*.

Delegates De Leon and Fiebiger, upon motion, were granted the floor to explain matters and answer questions in regard to running the *Daily People*.

Delegate Kroll stated that he had to leave for home, and asked to be excused from further attendance at the convention. Granted.

The executive session closed and the convention adjourned for the day at 10.30 p. m.

SIXTH DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,

Thursday, June 7, 1900.

Convention called to order at 9.30 a. m.

Eberle elected Chairman, Alexander Vice-Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Chairman Eberle of the Credentials Committee reported the arrival of James F. Parker, of the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut, in the place of Delegate Rose, and recommended that he be seated. So ordered.

The Secretary stated that owing to the length of Wednesday's session and the mass of matter taken down, it was physically impossible to prepare the minutes of the session. Motion was then carried to dispense with the reading of the minutes.

A letter of greetings was read from Delegate Kronburger of Cincinnati, who was unable to be present. A resolution which it contained in reference to the *Volkszeitung* was referred to the Press Committee.

A motion was then carried to finish the matter of nominations left over from the previous day.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A motion was then made and seconded to reconsider that portion of the constitution regarding the nomination and election of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate ALEXANDER. Yesterday when we attempted to make nominations of fourteen candidates for membership on the National Executive Committee, there was confusion, we did not know whether these men we nominated would accept or not and all that sort of business. I have an amendment to offer that the nomination of the fourteen candidates to be submitted to general vote will be given into the charge of the seat of the National Executive Committee instead of being nominated by the convention as a body.

Delegate LAKE. If those delegates outside of New York do not know who is eligible and who could run on that Committee or be nominated as candidates, those delegates living in New York City surely ought to know, and all the names that the outsiders failed to mention, it seems to me the New York delegates can name. We should be able to finish up very speedily. I move that we pursue the course we have started.

A DELEGATE. In regard to those fourteen candidates, the question has really taken the convention by surprise, although the members, although a few days in the city, did not think of looking around and investigating candidates. For that reason I am opposed.

Delegate CURRAN. The question is whether this convention shall attempt to decide who belongs on that Committee or, say, 1,000 members in Greater New York, although I presume that figure is exaggerated, at least as a result of the general vote—whether 500, 700, or 1,000. This convention is entirely at sea when it attempts to decide who will run as candidates and who will not and who are advisable to run as candidates. Just a few days will not tell us the qualifications. I would far rather trust the sections of Greater New York to decide who are the best men among them to stand as the National Executive Committee than this convention. As it is, we are placed in a position to rely absolutely upon the few delegates from Section New York, and they themselves, I will warrant, if you take them all one by one and ask them if they know the qualifications of their members, and who will run and not, will tell you they do not. On account of that, I think that we should reconsider this and go back and adopt the suggestion of Comrade Alexander.

Delegate KIRCHER. Experience is the wisest teacher, after all. Who is better able to judge than your National Executive Committee, together with the legal advice they have had in pointing out to us the various dangers that are liable to come upon us, in pointing out the proper method of electing the National Executive Committee? I favor the plan recommended by the National Executive Committee as the least complicated and productive of the best results.

Delegate PIERCE. There is a desire on the part of the membership throughout the country to have a hand in everything concerning the selection, nomination and election of the National Executive Committee. It seems, however, as has well been stated by several of the delegates here, that, at the present time, with the convention largely composed of persons unfamiliar, unacquainted with the membership in New York, it is practically impossible for us to make nominations in this convention. This convention has no way of determining how many of the comrades we nominate will accept and when they are apt to accept. Maybe only six will accept. If it was left to Section New

York to make the nominations, new men could be nominated in case there were not enough at first.

Delegate DALTON. We held there in Washington that the old method, under which we are working now, of electing the National Executive Committee was the most sensible and practicable one, and while the National Secretary spoke here of the communications that came in evincing a desire on the part of the membership to have something to do with the election of the National Executive Committee, we know that that feeling does exist and along with that feeling goes this, that we know that you have got to have a working National Executive Committee, selected by people who know who they are. That is the opinion of Section Seattle. None of the other sections in Washington cared to instruct me on that point, although I asked them. Their opinion was, as far as opinion goes when they do not send instructions, that the old method so far was the best that they knew. And when I came here and heard the National Secretary give the views of the National Executive Committee, that seemed to me the only sensible solution. As I understand it, the report of the Committee on Constitution practically embodied the suggestions of the National Executive Committee, did it not? [Curran nods assent.] But in switching around, they have taken from the sections of New York the power to nominate, and vested it in the delegates to this convention. I am in favor of returning to the suggestions of the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee.

Delegate BILSBARROW. The only difficulty I can see in selecting the fourteen names is that we do not know whether the members we select will stand as candidates. Any one reading the Party organ right along could pretty nearly pick out fourteen men active in the work of the Party in New York. If the only doubt we have is as to whether these comrades will stand or not, we could leave it to the National Secretary and ask the recording secretary of this convention and some other comrade to find out if they would stand; and should they not, then let this committee that we will select find out those who will and put them in their places.

Delegate BOLAND. I think it is wise to vote upon this thing and see whether we want to reconsider. Then we will talk about some practical method.

Delegate MEYER. In the first place, the people of the country have to depend upon Section New York as to who is fit and not fit, anyhow. There is no difference between us electing seven here or for us to elect the whole Section New York as a committee and the Section New York elect a sub-committee to act as a National Executive Committee. We elect here anyhow, and the difference is that we give the whole section a chance to pick out the members they think best to hold that position. Therefore let us stick to the old position.

The vote to reconsider was then carried.

Delegate Alexander made an amendment to strike out the words "National Convention" and insert in place the words "seat of the National Executive Committee."

Delegate Curran read clause as amended and in line with altera-

tions suggested by the Committee on Constitution since the adoption of the same section Wednesday afternoon—as follows:

ARTICLE V—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall consist of seven members, the seat of the Committee to nominate from its members fourteen candidates within four weeks after the general vote on the acts of the National Convention. The National Executive Committee shall submit the nominations to a general vote of the whole Party, arranging them in numerical order beginning with the candidate receiving the highest number of votes upon nomination and stating opposite each name the number of votes so received. The seven candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall organize as the Committee within two weeks after the announcement of the result of the general vote, and shall hold office until the next national convention or until their successors may be chosen.

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted as amended.

Delegate Meyer offered an amendment, seconded, that the National Executive Committee be elected annually.

Delegate DINGER. I do not believe we ought to consider anything but that the nomination of the candidates for membership in the National Executive Committee be left to Section New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is well taken.

The report of the committee, as amended, was then adopted.

The section relative to the National Executive Committee having been adopted, the remaining articles of the constitution were taken up, beginning with Article I. Chairman Curran of the Committee on Constitution continued the reading of the articles as follows:

ARTICLE I—MANAGEMENT.

Section 1. The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Executive Committee, the National Secretary, the state organizations, the local organizations, the sections, the national convention, and the general vote.

Adopted.

ARTICLE II—SECTIONS.

Section 1. Ten persons may form a section, provided they acknowledge the platform, constitution and resolutions of the Party and belong to no other political party, but not more than one charter shall be granted to any city or town.

a. They shall report their organization as a section, with a list of the members and the dues for the current month to the state executive committee.

b. Each section shall send every six months to the national and state executive committees a report of its numerical and financial condition; and shall report to the state executive committee at least once a year the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise.

Section 2. The section shall be the unit of organization.

Section 3. At every meeting a new chairman shall be elected, who shall observe the usual parliamentary rules.

Section 4. Every section shall elect from its members an organizer and such additional officers as it deems proper. The organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the national and state executive committees and shall send an official report once every six months to each of said committees; he shall send twelve cents of the monthly dues of each member to the state executive committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee; he shall conduct the local organization and agitation.

Section 5. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a section of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

Section 6. [Adopted later.—Secretary of the Convention.]

Section 7. Sections shall have jurisdiction of their own members.

Section 8. Every section shall elect a grievance committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the section, and report its decision.

Section 9. Charges against members shall not be debated until the grievance committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the section. All charges must be made in writing, whereupon the committee shall investigate the case and hear the witnesses of both parties. A detailed report of the investigation shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the section. The section shall then decide the matter, and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the secretary for safe keeping. The secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

Section 10. All decisions of the section may be appealed from within three months to the state executive committee. Decisions of the state executive committee may be appealed from within one month to a general vote of the sections in the State or to a state convention, and the decision then reached and all decisions of the National Executive Committee in individual grievances, where no state executive committee exists, shall be final.

Section 11. A majority of two-thirds of the members present at any business meeting shall be sufficient to expel any member; a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend for a definite period. Expulsions and suspensions shall be reported at once to the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated.

Section 13. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

Section 14. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be and are thereby suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

Section 15. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues, but the fact must be noted each month upon their cards.

Section 16. The result of every election within the section must be communicated at once to the national and state executive committees.

Section 17. In case of the dissolution, suspension or expulsion of any section, all property of the same must be delivered to the state executive committee.

Delegate CURRAN. Of course, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

Section 18. No section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party. No candidate of the Party for any public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party nor allow such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest; otherwise his nomination must be at once withdrawn.

Section 19. Members at large shall be subject to the supervision of the state executive committee in the same manner as a member to a section.

Section 20. No member, committee, or section of the Party shall support any political publication other than Party organs by donations of money or procuring subscribers for the same.

The above sections of the article on "Sections" were then taken up for adoption seriatim.

Sections 1 to 9 were adopted without objection.

As to Section 9, the following discussion took place:

Delegate SCHADE. I would like to see something inserted in there that would give the grievance committee the right to decide whether a charge was tenable or not before they put the machinery of the section in running order and go through all this.

Delegate CURRAN. That is a matter of course. If it is not proper, it is the province of the grievance committee to at once decide that. You can make a rule that shall so decide, but you must depend on the common sense of the grievance committee.

Delegate SCHADE. I wish to ask if, under the constitution, the central committee of a section cannot take it upon itself to decide whether charges are frivolous or tenable or not.

Delegate CURRAN. That is certainly the power of the grievance committee. No court that is to try anybody has a right to go into charges that are absurd and not charges at all. It is the province of the grievance committee to decide first as to the legality of the whole thing.

Section 9 was then adopted as read.

Section 10 was adopted without objection.

Section 11, as first read, contained the words "a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend," without the phrase added later, viz., "for a definite period." The following discussion in regard thereto took place:

Delegate SIMPSON. Does "suspend" mean for a certain time or for an indefinite time?

Delegate CURRAN. Just as the section may choose. "Suspend" cannot be for an indefinite time: that is practically expulsion.

Delegate SIMPSON. Unless a specified time is fixed for the duration of the suspension, the trick could be resorted to of suspending a man "indefinitely," and thus a simple majority could accomplish what is required by a two-thirds majority.

Delegate Wolfson proposed to amend Section 11 by adding, after the words "a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend," the words "for a definite period." Seconded

National Secretary KUHN. If I understand this aright, there is no distinction made between striking a member from the roll and suspending. Dropping a member from the roll and suspending are two different things. The first is a mere act of the section and doesn't imply a trial. The second does imply charges and a trial of these charges. If a section or a branch is in each and every case compelled to notify a member it desires to drop from the rolls, many a section will be compelled to continue to carry on its rolls a number of members who cannot be reached and cannot be notified, simply because they drop out and are never heard from again. I believe that all of you who sit here know that it is the experience of every organization: a man makes an application for admission; he is admitted; gets his card; shows up once or twice and then is never heard of again. That is very often the case. The section doesn't know what became of him; may have left town, gone somewhere else, and not a single member of the section knows where he has gone. How can the section notify him? And if they are prevented from dropping him on the rolls, it is compelled to carry a lot of dead wood on its rolls for years, for eternity, for that matter.

Delegate CURRAN. Isn't it a fact that sections use their own discretion in this matter? When members get into arrears and when they

do not come around, they drop them from the rolls? If they cannot find them, they are dropped?

National Secretary KUHN. Correct.

The section (11) was then, with the addition of the words "for a definite period" following the words "a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend," adopted.

Sections 12 and 13 were adopted as read, without objection. On Section 14—in which, on its original presentation, the words "and are thereby" did not appear—the following discussion took place:

A DELEGATE. Where a section has a central committee, does it debar the branch from suspending for non-payment of dues? Must it go before the central committee?

Delegate CURRAN. There is a provision later on about general committees, which states their duties and powers. But no branch even now has the power to suspend.

A DELEGATE. According to my understanding of the paragraph, members can be suspended for non-payment of dues without trial.

Delegate MALLONEY. There is no suspension of a member outside of the member suspending himself. According to the constitution, he must pay his dues, and if he fails to do so for three months, the section need not necessarily act; he is the only one who has acted in that matter, and consequently stands suspended.

Delegate WOLFSON. We elected, under our state laws, a city committee to conduct our political campaign, and it happened that several members, while they liberally contributed to all other propaganda funds, neglected to pay their dues. The attempt was made to enforce the payment of dues by enforcing that section of the constitution; and by doing so, we have taken it to mean that they are deprived from all right of being placed as candidates in the field or participating in any propaganda, but are not suspended as members from the section or the Party, as I understand it. Under our state constitution, we have elected a city committee to conduct the political affairs of the S. L. P. locally, and now we have suspended them from all rights, but we cannot remove them under the state law from the office to which they were elected under the legal caucus called for it. Now, there are several members suspended from our section, deprived of the rights and privileges of members in good standing, but, since they have the right to conduct our political agitation, they have the right to call caucuses and conventions. That is the muddle we are in. We would therefore like to see it arranged so that when members were suspended for the non-payment of dues, they would only stand suspended from the privileges or rights of participating in our regular business meetings or from being placed upon a ticket as a candidate or any other right they may demand to be recognized in. But when it states that they stand suspended the same as any culprits who have violated the principles of the Party, for a definite or an indefinite period—. But in this case they also stand suspended by the old constitution, as it reads, "shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations." That means that they cannot avail themselves of the privileges and rights accorded to members in good standing; but

by no means, I argued in my section, are they suspended from the rights of membership in the Party, and by no means can their names be removed from the list of membership. Otherwise, it simply would destroy our own activity in that locality.

Delegate EBERLE. Most state laws provide that the conduct of a political party in making nominations and in holding offices shall be in accordance with the laws of the political party concerned. Doesn't your law give you that right?

Delegate WOLFSON. We have rules and regulations——

Delegate BOLAND. I rise to a point of order. The question raised by Delegate Wolfson is irrelevant. We cannot control any political party, we can control our membership. It is specifically stated that for the non-payment of three months' dues he suspends himself, and we cannot do any more.

The CHAIRMAN. Comrade Wolfson is to the point.

Delegate WOLFSON. I ask the Committee on Constitution to make it so explicit that with the difficulties we labor under in States where there is a separate legal organization for the Party, we shall know exactly where we stand. This suspends our city committee and they are out of the organization and still they run our affairs politically under the laws of the State.

Delegate CURRAN. In answer to Comrade Wolfson, I do not think it is wise for the committee to change it in any way, because it is our sentiment that the members of the Party who do not pay dues should not be members of the Party. The fact that there is a law in Massachusetts creating state and city committees, elected by caucus members of the Party, and who subsequently may fail to pay their dues, should not influence us in the least. If the idea of Comrade Wolfson was carried out, everybody who stops paying dues, without resigning from the section, doesn't care a continental for the Party and never intends to come around again, practically would not be suspended from the Party, on the same principle. We have the same law in Rhode Island, so far as city committees are concerned; the city committees are elected by caucuses from Party members; but if they stop paying dues, we do not propose to consider them members of the Party, and when the next caucus comes around, they will not be elected again.

Delegate RAASCH. I fully agree with the provision of the Committee on Constitution. As far as Massachusetts is concerned, it is true that it is necessary, under the laws, that we must have two organizations there, but that is just why we have two organizations, that we wish to control the membership.

Delegate DINGER. A point of order. We cannot control the State of Massachusetts making laws. It has nothing to do with us. We can only make our own constitution, and we cannot control such men as these good members of the Party.

The CHAIRMAN. We must consider that in Massachusetts they have a different form of organization, and if our constitution can be so fixed as to provide for that, that has occurred, I think we should talk it over.

Delegate CURRAN. How can we provide for that? The question of any rule we make? The question is, how can we make it so that it is in accordance with the laws of the State?

the Great and General Court of Massachusetts and the Rhode Island Legislature and ask them to adopt our constitution.

Delegate Lawry presented an amendment to the effect that the section be made to read:

Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be and are thereby suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations and are reinstated by affirmative action of the sections suspending them.

Seconded by Delegate Wolfson, who said: "It overcomes the difficulty we labor under."

Delegate McKEOWN. This is leaving a loophole for unnecessary action in the sections. The original recommendation provides simply, squarely and easily that if a new member doesn't obey the law of the Party with regard to the payment of dues, he suspends himself. He saves the section the trouble, and when he pays up, he reinstates himself. What is the use of all this damned nonsense about it?

Delegate LAWRY. I can answer that. Out in the State of Washington we have a lot of Kangaroos. That may seem strange, but it is a fact, and several of those parties, after they had suspended themselves, as McKeown says, wanted to come in, wanted to pay up their dues, but we decided that they ought to be taken in precisely the same as though they came in on new applications. [Applause.] And we say that it is only right and proper that men who are guilty of getting three, four, five and six months in arrears, ought to give an account of themselves in the meantime. Therefore, I claim that the section is right and proper, that they demand that those fellows who have not paid up their dues, pay them up, and not come in but by affirmative action of the section, after they have absolutely gone out of the organization of their own accord.

Delegate KINNEALLY. I am against Lawry's construction of the clause, that we can keep a member out by majority vote and compel him to come in again. We simply expel him and put him out of the organization without any chance of trial before the grievance committee.

Delegate LAWRY. That's right.

Delegate KINNEALLY. In the case Lawry mentions it happens to work all right, but it would not in every case. Therefore, I believe it should not require the action of the section, because, if it does, we will be continually taking action every night we meet, because members are continually falling in arrears and continually paying up. I move as an amendment—otherwise the report of the committee is correct—that, while a member is suspended on account of arrears in his dues, he is deprived of any rights of membership, and the moment he pays up, he becomes a member in good standing. I therefore present this: strike out "and are reinstated by affirmative action by the sections suspending them" in the amendment of Delegate Lawry.

Seconded.

Delegate BILSBARROW. I favor the recommendation of the committee as against all those amendments. The only objection to mere suspension is that a man might come under that who should be given some more severe punishment. The idea in merely suspending a man

is to make it act upon those who, perhaps through no fault of theirs, have fallen behind in their dues. If there is any man who is guilty of such gross negligence as to fall behind in dues purposely or anything like that, then let his section bring charges against him and expel him. Then you have got him outside of the Party.

Delegate McKEOWN. Kinneally's motion is all right, but still doesn't cover the point. I wish to answer Lawry's statement to the effect that when members suspend themselves and come in and pay their dues, Kangaroos might try to do it. I hold that if the Kangaroos try to come in under that law, we have a provision whereby we can deal with them. We can charge them with being traitors to the Party and get completely rid of them.

A DELEGATE. According to the by-laws of our section, a member in arrears for six months thereby suspends himself. When he desires to come in again, he must come in as a new member, must fill out an application blank the same as any new applicant, besides paying up his arrears in dues. These by-laws were submitted to the National Executive Committee, who stated that there was nothing in them that conflicted with the constitution of the Party. All sections can settle this matter themselves.

The amendment of Delegate Lawry was then voted upon. The viva voce vote being in doubt, a vote was taken by show of hands, resulting in 25 in favor and 22 against. Carried.

The amendment to the amendment, by Delegate Kinneally, was next voted upon. A division being declared upon the viva voce vote, the vote was taken by show of hands, showing 28 in favor and 16 against. Carried.

The original motion, as amended, reading as follows, was carried:

Section 14. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months, shall be and are thereby suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

Delegate Boland made a motion, seconded, that "No delegate be given the floor unless he desires to make an amendment to the constitutional provisions as read by the chairman of the committee, the same to be read by the chairman before any remarks are permitted." Carried.

Sections 15, 16 and 17 were adopted without objection.

On the adoption of Section 18, the following motions were made and debate took place.

Delegate Noonan made a motion, seconded, that Section 9, "Miscellaneous Regulations," of the old constitution (and incorporated under Section 18, Article II, "Sections," in the new constitution) be changed to read:

No candidate of this Party for any public office shall be permitted

to accept any nomination or indorsement from any other political party, independent labor clubs, or otherwise.

Lost.

Delegate Marx presented the following amendment, seconded:

No comrade to be allowed to handle or use pasters; if so, such comrade to be expelled from the S. L. P.

A motion by Delegate Boland to lay the same on the table was lost.

Delegate MARX. Certain sections, not directly, but the members themselves, and especially in our town, have asked me personally whether any person in the Socialist Labor Party should be allowed to use pasters. I always said no. I stand here as a delegate from New London, State of Connecticut, and I wish that we could emphatically throughout the whole United States say to every person in the Socialist Labor Party that they are not to use any pasters whatever. As I am in the Socialist Labor Party for the straight Socialist Labor Party ticket and what is behind it, not for the candidates alone, but for the principles behind it, I move you that this amendment be accepted.

Delegate SCHULBERG (alternate for Delegate Keep). I want to state this. I have been through Connecticut, and I found that the comrades in certain cities devoted their main attention to the printing of pasters. Now I believe that this should be discouraged.

Delegate BOLAND. Point of order. This paster business is a local affair. In my State those things must be settled by the state committee. There is no sense in bringing it before the national convention.

Delegate DINGER. We have no pasters in Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Point of order not well taken. The only way it can be decided is by the convention.

Delegate SCHULBERG (alternate for Delegate Keep). Have I a right to explain? The vast majority of comrades—

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to sit down. Comrade Marx must explain.

Delegate MARX. I do not really find any fault with the comrade to say what he knows. So far as I am concerned, as a member of the Socialist Labor Party, my principles are straight, and remember it is not alone as to the Socialist Labor Party, but the S. T. & L. A. also against the trade union solid. Now as to these pasters, the question has been raised by certain comrades in our section, and I have written also to *The People* for an answer in the "Letter Box," and undoubtedly some of the comrades here have read the "Letter Box." It would bring about confusion. Those things have happened in Connecticut and perhaps in other States, but I believe that no section and no member of the Socialist Labor Party should be allowed to use pasters, no matter what State it is. We have seen that that our vote is counted in New London. At the last election we had 99 straight Socialist Labor Party votes as against only 12 the year before. I tell you we have done good work, and we will do good work again at this coming election, in spite of men like the speaker of the House, who told us that our votes would not be counted. I said that those votes will be

counted. I tell you, comrades, I have fought and I will fight again.

Delegate Lawry presented an amendment, seconded, to the effect that "where there is local, State, or national ticket of the S. L. P., the use of pasters be prohibited."

Delegate LAWRY. In the State of Pennsylvania at places where there is no local ticket of the Party, we are frequently compelled to use pasters for our ticket. If we have a ticket of the S. L. P., it is only right and proper that no pasters should be used. Where we have a ticket, it seems inconsistent to allow anything of that kind to be used, but where there is no local ticket, it is frequently the case that pasters must be used in Pennsylvania and perhaps other States.

Delegate MALLONEY. This sticker business works different ways in different States. If we hadn't used stickers in the city of Boston, the city committee of the city of Boston would be the most thorough-going Kangaroo body in America to-day. Every element in the city of Boston combined to beat the S. L. P. when they held caucuses for the nomination of caucus offices. And they outdid the S. L. P. members, because the S. L. P. members had a good deal of drilling among themselves to get down to any solid work. The only thing that saved the city was that each comrade who was on to his job simply put on at the end of the ballot stickers with the names of comrades that were all right, and then he buttonholed everybody that he could recognize, and told them that the other fellows were not standing for the S. L. P., but the names on the stickers were the names of the S. L. P. that had been shut out by the influence of the politicians of that city, and it was by that method that they saved the city of Boston.

Delegate RUPP. There are many points we have not covered yet, and if we attempt to put all these points in the constitution, we should have a big book to carry, a lot of laws that it would take a Philadelphia lawyer to study and be clear on. It is a waste of time. Let us leave it to the common sense of the sections or the state committees. I always found that the less laws we had the better we get along. If that spirit is not in a section which will do right in every case, all the laws you make will not prevent wrongdoing being done. [Applause.]

Delegate GLANZ. No one here can say what are the local conditions in the various cities throughout the United States. We know to-day in the city of Paterson it would have been an utter impossibility to elect Comrade Maguire to the board of aldermen without the use of pasters. In the first election when Comrade Maguire was elected, there were 600 pasters used there. Now, comrades know that it was a majority of 20 pasters that elected Maguire to the board of aldermen. If this clause was inserted in the constitution, it would be an utter impossibility to elect a man in the city of Paterson at the present time. While I contend that this matter of pasters has done us considerable harm, yet at the same time I believe that it should be left to the state committees and the local organizations to decide, not for the national convention.

Delegate SPETTEL. It seems as though pasters elected Maguire instead of a thorough discussion of Socialist doctrine, or they forgot about the pasters at the next election.

Delegate CONNELLY. I agree with Delegate Spettel. Maguire is not now sitting in the board of aldermen, because the majority who voted for Maguire in Paterson expected to get jobs and nothing else. Men claimed they voted for Maguire whose knowledge of Socialism was about as much as that of a man in South Africa to-day. The conditions there that elected Maguire were that a lot of people were looking for jobs, and not getting them, Maguire was turned down. The Socialist Labor Party to-day in Paterson has lost prestige. Then the conditions in Jersey City. In several wards there comrades have spent \$15 to \$25 for pasters and to get their photographs on telegraph poles. These people when they saw that they didn't set the town on fire by making compromising speeches and popular political speeches, immediately left the Socialist Labor Party when they found they ran behind the head of the ticket. At last election several comrades in my branch (Tenth Ward, Jersey City) wanted to put pasters on—got their heads swelled up. Several of the comrades told them to get off the ticket. Jersey City is the only city that raised its vote.

Delegate LAKE. So far as a comrade is concerned in furthering the interests of his own canvass, I should object to any means used by him; but where it is necessary to use a sticker I should not object to it—if necessary to get a candidate on the ticket; and therefore would support the motion to leave it to the state committees, and instruct the state committees that they should in some way, that they should in every way, prevent individuals from using those means to further their own candidacy.

Delegate CURRAN. Lawry makes a motion as a member of the committee. I do not accept it, for the reason that these are local matters. And if you stop to think what it means—if at any time the Party in a city or a State was to omit making nominations and go past the time to file them they would be prevented from using pasters in order to appear at all, and where there is a secret ballot law you would have to use pasters if you wanted to get nominations in on time. It is a purely local, section, and state matter, and should be left to them to decide according to their peculiar conditions.

The amendment to the amendment, by Delegate Lawry, was then put to a vote and lost.

The amendment of Delegate Marx was also lost.

The concluding sections, 19 and 20, were passed without objection.

Delegate Reinstein offered the following amendment, seconded:

Every section and state committee shall send a copy of their city or state by-laws to the National Executive Committee for approval, to make it sure that such local by-laws do not conflict with the national constitution.

Delegate CURRAN. The committee accepts that.

National Secretary KUHN. We ought to have our organization constructed according to the political institutions of the country, and it appears to me that section by-laws should go to the state committee for approval and only in case of dispute to the National Executive Committee, but by-laws adopted by state committees should go to the National Executive Committee. As the Party grows, as the number

of sections grows, there would be so large a number of by-laws adopted all over the country in the course of time, as to make it simply impossible for the National Executive Committee to cope with them all, unless they had a legal board sitting all the time. I do not mean to say that that is the case now, that we are overrun with local by-laws, but we are not always going to be what we are now, and I expect that we shall grow very rapidly within the next four years, the time for which we are framing this constitution. Section by-laws ought to go to the state committees; state committee by-laws ought to go to the National Executive Committee; and in cases when a state committee and a section disagree, then they may go to the National Executive Committee to be finally passed upon.

Delegate REINSTEIN. I desire to make my motion according to Comrade Kuhn's statement.

Delegate CURRAN. If there is no objection, we will adopt it as suggested by Comrade Kuhn, and write it up.

No objection.

Chairman Curran of the Committee on Constitution continued reading:

ARTICLE III—STATE ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. When in any State there are three sections in three different towns or cities, they shall form a state organization to be known as the state executive committee. It shall be the duty of such committee to conduct systematic agitation within its jurisdiction, form new sections, and provide the blanks required for the resignation of candidates for public office.

Section 2. Every section connected with such committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

Section 3. The committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee and submit to it monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

Section 4. In a State having a legal state organization under laws permitting non-members of the Party to elect the same, the state executive committee shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

All the sections of the foregoing article adopted without objection.

At this point Delegates Munro, Zolot, Hess, and Schugel asked to be excused from further attendance at the convention on account of having to depart for their homes. Granted.

At 12 o'clock the convention took a recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

The convention then went into executive session to hear the report of the Press Committee on the *Daily People*, which was given by Chairman Brown.

Upon this a lengthy discussion ensued as to the method of running, the outlook for, and best method of controlling the *Daily People*, in which Delegate Vogt, one of the trustees, answered a number of questions relative thereto put to him by some of the delegates. Delegate Vogt advised that the management of the *Daily People* be placed in the hands of three trustees. Delegate De Leon made a motion that the matter of the election of a board of trustees be referred to open session, and the Committee on Constitution be instructed to bring in some regulations for the management of the *Daily People*. Seconded and carried. Delegate Sanial recommended the formation of a corporation for the purpose, all of whose stock was immediately, upon incorporation, to be transferred to the S. L. P. and deposited with the N. E. C. Delegate Sanial moved an amendment that both plans be referred to the Committee on Constitution for study, and report thereon to the convention in open session. Seconded and carried.

Delegate De Leon made the following motion:

Resolved, That the daily edition of the English organ of the Socialist Labor Party be called the *Daily People*; that the weekly edition be called the *Weekly People*, and its Sunday edition the *Daily People*, Sunday Edition; and that the emblem be the uplifted Arm and Hammer of the S. L. P.

Seconded and carried.

Delegate Sanial moved an amendment to refer the matter of the name to the Press Committee to examine into the legal complications attached to the use of the name hitherto used, and to suggest another name, if necessary. Seconded and lost.

Delegate De Leon made a motion that the Press Committee be instructed to report his previous resolution in regard to the name to the convention in open session. Seconded and carried.

After sitting about three hours, the convention lifted the executive session and went into open session.

Moved and seconded to hold an evening session, commencing at 6.45. Carried.

REPORT OF PRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary Dalton, of the Press Committee, then reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the daily edition of the English organ of the Socialist Labor Party be called the *Daily People*; that the weekly edition be called the *Weekly People*, and its Sunday edition the *Daily People*, Sunday Edition; and that the emblem be the uplifted Arm and Hammer of the S. L. P.

Unanimously adopted, with three cheers and tremendous applause.

The nomination for editor of *The People* was then proceeded

with. Delegate Murphy nominated Delegate Daniel De Leon, who was the only nominee, and was elected by acclamation, amid great applause and calls for a speech.

ELECTION OF EDITOR OF THE PEOPLE.

Delegate DE LEON. I accept the responsibility for the purpose of continuing the work done during the last ten years. And I shall say to the comrades here assembled in convention that whenever you find anything in *The People* that in your opinion is not conducive of the interests of the Socialist Labor Party, it proceeds from the theory that there is no mistake of intent, only a mistake of judgment; that they should be frank and fully state their opinion, subject, of course, to my final judgment, because I cannot accept everybody's opinion; that, if any errors creep in, any statements of fact that they think are not true, they should give the facts as they know them; and if anything is found to have been wrongfully stated, *The People*, being an organ of the Party and of the movement that cannot stand but upon truth, will be but too ready to retract properly.

At the same time the *Daily People*, especially the Sunday edition, will continue to be edited and run the same as the weekly has heretofore been run. It will teach Socialism with such completeness as its force can bring to the task, and never once shall it refrain from striking a blow where judgment tells that the blow should be struck.

Last evening at that memorable ceremony in the pressroom of *The People*, while the press was set in motion for the first time and its maiden production distributed to the delegates as souvenirs, the statement was made that we hope the capitalists will not give up their fight against us, either in general or in particular, because that is very conducive towards the intensity that we need for our fight, but that if they should give it up, the *Daily*, *Weekly*, and *Sunday People* will see to it that they fall back into line and keep at us. [Applause.]

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY TOWARD TRADE UNIONISM.

The Committee on the Attitude of the Party Towards Trade Unionism was then given the floor, and through Delegate Sanial offered the following resolution:

ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD TRADE UNIONISM, GENUINE AND BOGUS.

1. We conceive the genuine trade union as a militant labor body, originating from the very nature of the class struggle under capitalism, instituted to resist the degradation and promote the elevation, not only of its own members, but of the whole working class, and destined, therefore, to act an important part in the war for social emancipation.

Since capitalism, with its consequent wage system, rests upon institutions essentially political, genuine trade unionism, as above defined, not only must fight in the shop every work day the individual exploiters of labor, but must especially, uncompromisingly, at all costs and all hazards, fight the political parties of capitalism on election day. Its chief motto must be: "No union card will justify the political scab; he is a traitor to his class." [Great applause.]

2. In their infancy the trade unions, moved by a spirit of class solidarity, were incidentally led to undertake the relief of their unemployed, sick, maimed and decrepit members injured and pauperized by the capitalist system. But, as capitalism developed, steadily in-

creasing enforced idleness, misery and sickness, and general demoralization, this incidental feature was not only given more and more importance as it became less and less practicable, but (together with the strike itself, that is, with the sacred weapon of economic defense) was turned by schemers or labor fakirs into a means of exploiting their fellow workmen.

Hence the bogus trade unionism, now known as "trade unionism pure and simple," from which the natural, fundamental purpose of union, namely, the conduct of the class struggle with a constant view to the complete emancipation of the wage working class, is entirely banished, and in which capitalism is accepted as a finality.

This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class and its political lackeys, who promote it, bribe it, and use it as a rampart against the rising tide of Socialism. It has forbidden within its precincts the very politics which it should encourage and the only ones which it should permit. It has silenced or driven away every worker honest and capable enough to show in its true light the nature of the class struggle. It has resolved itself into a close corporation that denounces as a "scab" any craftsman to whom it refuses admission in order to secure for its membership a monopoly of capitalistic kicks and favors. It has stupidly begged from American capital its protection against the "pauper labor" of Europe, while this same capital provides itself every year with millions of "pauper laborers" of iron and steel, costing eight cents a day to feed with machine oil and coal. It has converted itself when it had some funds into small middle-class insurance concerns and charitable institutions for the doctoring of its sick, the burying of its dead, and, foremost of all, the remunerative employment of its officers. In a word, it has repudiated the labor movement, blotted out its history and sealed its own death warrant. [Applause.]

3. Now, however, rises the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which, in its fundamental principles, final aims and practical methods realizes our conception of trade unionism.

Ahead of the times, watchfully answering the modern requirements of economic organization in the changed and ever-changing economic environment, it is already a power in the economic struggle and has won glorious victories under conditions that the A. F. of L. or any other fakir-ridden agglomeration of planless and spiritless elements never thought of facing. For the strength of a labor organization is not in the numbers of its membership, nor in the amount in its treasury, but in the height of its aims, and the depth of its solidarity. [Applause.] Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recognize in the S. T. & L. A. the economic arm of the S. L. P., and its indispensable adjunct in its inexpressibly incessant, deadly conflict between the working class and the capitalist class.

That we urgently impress upon the Socialist comrades and all sympathizers the necessity of ceaseless propaganda in favor of the S. T. & L. A.; that we expect from them that they will join the local trade or mixed alliances which may already exist in their respective localities, and promote the formation of such alliances where none have yet been established.

Let the Socialist watchwords everywhere be: "Down with trade unionism pure and simple!" "Away with the labor fakirs!" "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P.!" "Onward with the Social Revolution!" [Great applause.]

Delegate Murphy made a motion, seconded, that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate DE LEON. Very likely the adoption of this resolution will be the most important and far-reaching act of this convention. Four years ago we turned over a new leaf, but our striking, or turning, hand was tied and we could not turn the leaf completely. Freed from those who prevented us, we are free to-day to turn that leaf; and it means, standing upon that unqualified position, where we do not allow the cap-

istal class to capture our forces by false devices, we are free from now on not to recognize as a class-conscious man, as a workingman working in the field as he ought to, a man who is marshalled under the officers of capitalism, whether they be capitalists directly or their lackeys like Gompers, Powderly and the rest of them, too numerous to mention. It means that henceforth the Socialist Labor Party rises to the opportunities that this country gives it. It means that henceforth the lines are drawn clear and that we shall not be justified to place confidence in any man who directly or indirectly out of his free will gives aid or comfort to these buffers of capitalism, viz., the "pure and simple" trade unions. [Applause.] That position we omitted to take four years ago; that position I hope we shall take to-day, and I know that when we shall meet again four years hence, we shall have taken not forty years but several hundred years steps towards the accomplishment of a mission that every decent, every honorable man should be enlisted in. [Applause.]

ORGANIZERS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Delegate BILSBARROW. It is substantially the same attitude we have had towards trade unions for the last four years, but still it doesn't cut the line clear enough. While that has been our attitude all along, it has been customary to allow certain members of the Party to act as organizers for the very unions that we condemn. I therefore offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That hereafter no one holding a position as organizer for any trade or labor union other than the S. T. & L. A. shall be given credentials as a representative of the S. L. P.

Seconded.

Delegate DE LEON. I move you that that very good proposition be referred to the Committee on Constitution, with instructions to make a report on it.

Seconded.

Delegate MEYER. I wish to amend as follows:

Whereas, We recognize the necessity of carrying on the war against capitalism simultaneously on the political and economic fields; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend to all Socialists to join the S. T. & L. A. and organize local alliances wherever possible; and be it further

Resolved, That we recommend and advise that no member of the Socialist Labor Party accept office, salaried or otherwise, in any pure and simple trade union or labor organization.

Delegate SANIAL. The first part of this amendment is in the resolution introduced by the committee, that we recommend all members of the Socialist Labor Party to join the various trade or mixed alliances and promote their formation, etc. The second part is practically the motion of Comrade Bilsbarrow, which has just been referred to the Committee on Constitution. I make that a point of order.

The Chairman sustained the point of order.

Delegate Reid, on behalf of the Rhode Island delegation, asked permission for them to go on the record as seconding the resolution. [Applause.]

The resolution was then carried by a unanimous rising vote.

Delegate MALLONEY. The Committee on Attitude Towards Trade Unionism still has in its possession a number of resolutions presented by different sections of the country endorsing the S. T. & L. A., requesting the convention to make its attitude firm, plain and solid. As the resolution reported by Comrade Sanial practically embodies everything that has been sent to the convention in the form of resolutions, I would like instructions from this convention what I am going to do with those resolutions.

Delegate DE LEON. I move that the Chairman of the Committee on Attitude of the Party Towards Trade Unionism be instructed to hand over to the Committee on Constitution all the documents in his possession. I have read several of them, and several of them contain necessary constitutional points. One provides that the *Daily People* shall have the Alliance label on, and there may be other provisions. I therefore make a motion accordingly.

Seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The convention then proceeded with the further consideration of the constitution.

Delegate Curran read:

ARTICLE IV—LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. When in any city or town a section is subdivided into branches it shall form a city or town organization to be known as the general committee, and all local business and all dealings with the Party's national and state executive committees shall be carried on by such committee. When the general local government embraces a locality greater or smaller than a town or city, the same rule shall apply.

Section 2. Such committee shall alone exercise the powers delegated to sections under Article II, as far as concerns the admission, expulsion and suspension of members, and from all decisions of the committee in such matters appeal may be taken within one month to a general vote of the section under its jurisdiction. The committee shall consider no application for admission to membership, unless the same has been accepted by a branch under its jurisdiction.

Section 3. In a city, town, or other locality having a legal organization under laws permitting non-members of the Party to elect the same, the general committee, and in the absence of such the section, shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization, subject to the approval of the national and state executive committees, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

Adopted without objection.

ARTICLE VII—NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Section 1. A national convention shall be held every fourth or presidential year; but if five sections in three different States so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Section 2. The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast at the state election preceding the national convention and to one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any State having one or more sections and polling less than one thousand votes, or polling no votes at all, shall be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State.

Section 3. The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention in January of the convention year, and the state executive committees in transmitting the call to the sections shall call for nominations for delegates, the nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the sections with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for.

Section 4. Delegates shall be members in good standing of the Party for one year and citizens of the United States, but a State unable to comply with this provision may dispense with the same as far as may be necessary, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Each delegate shall have but one vote.

Section 5. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States sending them, but the National Executive Committee shall set aside two cents of the moneys received for every due stamp sold to be used as a mileage fund, each State to be paid from said fund for the railroad fare of its delegates upon the basis of an equal percentage for every delegate attending the convention.

Section 8. All acts of the national convention shall be submitted to the sections for general vote.

Adopted without objection.

[NOTE—Section 6 of the above article, *in re* S. T. & L. A. fraternal delegates, and Section 7 *in re* functions of national conventions, were adopted, the first earlier, the second later in the convention.—Secretary of the Convention.]

ARTICLE VIII—DUES.

Section 1. The sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of twelve cents, to be paid monthly to the state committee.

Section 2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the state executive committees at the rate of seven cents each, and in the absence of such to the sections at the rate of twelve cents each.

Section 3. Every state executive committee or section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well as the secretaries of state executive committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

Delegate BOLAND. I want to be recorded on the minutes as voting against that mileage tax, because I was instructed to do so.

The article was then, without further objection, adopted.

ARTICLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by the national convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any section to any proposition so laid before the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported to the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued. The National Secretary shall forthwith transmit to the sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each section.

Section 2. All officers and committees of a section or of state and local organizations shall be subject to removal by their constituents upon charges duly made and tried.

Section 3. No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle to him and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

Section 4. In subscribing to the platform and constitution, the members take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability, in case of need.

Section 5. A member in good standing of one section shall have the

right to attend and speak at any meeting of another section or branch of a section, but shall not be allowed to vote.

Section 6. No person shall participate in hearing or deciding an appeal who is a party to the proceedings.

Section 7. No person who has not been a member of the Party for at least one year and who has not identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work, shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office without the specific approval of the state executive committee.

Section 8. On accepting a nomination of the Party for a public office the candidate shall at once give the section in charge a signed resignation, dated blank, of the office to which he is so nominated, and shall assent in writing to its being filed with the proper authorities. If, in case of election, he proves disloyal to the Party, such resignation and assent immediately upon execution to be turned over to the state executive committee.

Section 9. At all elections and in all voting, unless otherwise provided, a plurality vote is sufficient to decide.

Section 10. The seat of the National Executive Committee shall elect an auditing committee which may at any time inspect and audit the books of the committees, officers and agencies of the Party and its national organization.

Section 11. Sections and local and state organizations may make rules for their action, but such must not conflict with any rules duly provided for their formation and procedure, nor with any rules of the state or national organization, all rules of the sections and local organizations to be approved by the state executive committee and all rules of the state organizations to be approved by the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. The functions of a state executive committee under the constitution and resolutions of the Party shall be exercised by the National Executive Committee where no state executive committee exists.

Section 13. All former provisions conflicting with this constitution are rescinded.

All of Article XI adopted without objection.

Delegate Reinstein proposed the following amendment, seconded, to the constitution:

Resolved, That that part of the constitution regarding representation at the national convention be referred back to the Committee on Constitution, with instructions to formulate a method by which all parts of the States can be represented in proportion to their congressional vote.

The convention then took a recess till 7 p. m

EVENING SESSION.

Convention called to order at 7 p. m.

Roll-call dispensed with.

A letter was read from Frank Streit, Secretary of Section Philadelphia, requesting the delegates who had to pass through Philadelphia on their way home to stop there Saturday night, June 9, to speak at a meeting to be arranged for that night, as also to attend a reception for Sunday afternoon; requesting also a photograph of Malloney or promise to send it.

Delegate Reinstein then withdrew the amendment presented by him at the close of the afternoon session, and in its place submitted the following:

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Resolved, That the present system of representation of delegates to the national convention, proportioned on the vote cast in congressional districts, be maintained.

Seconded.

National Secretary KUHN. We have seen how this system based on congressional districts has worked. It is no good. Sections not at all accustomed to work together have to confer in order to elect delegates, have to confer in order to pay the expenses of these delegates. There is no end of friction and trouble and the whole thing is costly from beginning to end. I would strongly advise the delegates to vote that amendment down. Representation by States for the next four years, until our next national convention takes place, is the best system I can think of. It will give us, first, a representation in this convention of the best material there is in a State; second, it will bring about that each and every member of each and every section is represented in the national convention and not, as it is now, that some sections are represented and some are not; third, in so far as expenses are concerned, there will be an equal distribution of the cost over the whole membership of the entire State, instead of the whole burden or the larger portion of the burden falling upon one section that takes active interest in the work to send delegates, whereas another doesn't stir at all, takes no interest, and consequently sends no delegate and in consequence thereof has absolutely no expense whatever. I fail to see, I would like to see some reasons adduced why this combination of the two systems is now proposed. I cannot understand it. Comrade Reinstein offers an amendment which retains at the present time some features of the old system, with which the proposition of the Committee on Constitution does away, and introduces some of the features of the new proposition now proposed and now before the house. I want to say, if we are going to have a system, let us have it along one line and along one line only, so that we know what we are about, as simple a representation as possible. There is no need of figuring out the votes in the various congressional districts and answering all sorts of questions and as to how many delegates they are entitled to. Everybody will know, and exactly, what is the vote cast in any State and would know exactly how many delegates that State is entitled to.

Delegate REINSTEIN. If you would look at the exact wording, you would know that I have withdrawn the amendment I submitted before we adjourned this evening and simply amended to retain the present system of representation in its entirety. The reason I did it—although as to the representation principle, I am in favor of State representation—I hoped that the Committee on Constitution would find some way of distributing that representation through the State, of securing for the sections located in districts away outside of the metropolis of the State some chance to be represented, and a chance also to give to the convention the benefit of their experience.

I have heard from Comrade Curran that they could not devise such a way; if this is the case, upon second thought I come to see that it is really impossible to devise such a method—I for my part fail to devise such a method—and that is the reason why I move now to retain the former system. I believe that it will be simply dangerous for the Party to adopt a method of representation which will practically mean nothing else but representation by the delegates who happen to live in the metropolises of the respective States. I would not be afraid as far as New York is concerned. I have no objection to enabling the comrades of Section Greater New York, if they so choose, to elect the entire delegation, say, of twenty-three delegates, from among the membership residing in Greater New York. It will be quite natural for them to vote for people whom they know, rather than for those whom they maybe have heard of but do not know anything about. But I look at the thing in the light of experience. We have just gotten through with the Kangaroos. I know as well as any comrade here that there was more than one State where the center, the metropolis, of the State happened to be Kangaroo as to the composition of the majority of its membership, at least, while the rest of the State, as a whole, remained solid and loyal. It was the case with California, practically; it was the case with Illinois; it was to some extent the case with Pennsylvania, I believe, with a large number of Kangaroo members in Philadelphia. I believe, if we adopt the method recommended by the Committee on Constitution, it would mean, if we had this convention before we got rid of the Kangaroos, it would mean that the entire delegation from the State of Illinois would be chosen by the majority of the membership in the city of Chicago, who, as we know, have "kangarooed." They could outvote by their numbers all the other sections in the State of Illinois. The same thing would have happened in California, and so forth. I believe that the present system of representation, even if there are some inconveniences as to expenses and so forth—I believe that this per capita tax that we have adopted here to-day would tend to settle this question in a more satisfactory way than up to the present time—I believe that this method of congressional district representation, securing, as it does, proportional representation to the other congressional districts in the State outside of the metropolis of the State, would give us a more perfect representation and would give us representation of such members who could give the entire convention the benefit of their experience and thus enable the convention to devise ways and means and conduct the Party in a way more corresponding to the Party membership. I believe it would be a dangerous thing to leave the sections located in the bulk of the State practically at the mercy of the membership, dependent upon the charitable intentions of the membership residing in the center of the State. That is why I oppose the new method.

Delegate NUESSELE. While Reinstein has in substance stated my opinion, I would like to have any comrade here prove to me that, if we adopt the proposition as recommended by the Committee on Constitution, we are not doing away with proportional representation. Now, as the case really stands, or it might be done—I have no hard feelings against the comrades of the city of Greater New York—but

could it not be possible that, if the delegates were elected at large, the comrades of the city of New York could, if they so chose, outvote all the rest of the State and elect the entire delegation? Then, I would like to know how are they all represented, how is every member represented, as Comrade Kuhn said they are? And I think it is a thing which will not be accepted by the sections throughout the State. And there we are right there—New York City is able to outvote the rest of the State again, and it will create disharmony, and I think we should not adopt anything that is liable to do that. Therefore, if we cannot get anything better than the present system, I am in favor of retaining the present system.

Delegate CURRAN. I hope the delegates will not go into this thing and drag it out as they have on other matters. Both sides have practically been presented and they have discussed it a good deal between adjournments of the session. The main argument of those who are on Comrade Reinstein's side is that there is a great danger that this small Kangaroo element may some day come here and capture the convention. If the Party is in such a condition that all the metropolitan cities are in the hands of the Kangaroos and they are the absolute majority in the Party, I do not know who should control the convention but they. That is the purpose of organizations, to have the majority in them control. Just at the present time the Kangaroos are in the minority, and it is well enough for a conspiracy such as that to come here in its might, if it wants to, and get soundly walloped, as it did in 1896. As to the other arguments on some of these amendments, we sometimes get an argument on democracy, and then again democracy is all forgotten about. If the solid movement of the Party is in one locality, that is the part that should be represented. That is the vim and vigor that has gone to work and increased the vote and created the Party organization, and it is they who should dominate the convention and determine its policy, and not those in the back-woods places, who are in a minority, but who, if it is parcelled out all among them, can come here in their minority and have a large majority over the places where the Party is really concentrated. Just as in holding conventions, no man proposes to hold a convention away out in Denver; that is not where the Party is. It is right here in this part of the country and the convention should be kept here until the Party grows westward. Comrade Kuhn has presented our side of the case clearly. It is intimated that these comrades out in the country may feel as though their city cousins are going to walk away with them, but let us look at the other political parties, how they apportion their representation to a state convention to-day. Do we find these state conventions putting everything in the city and leaving the country people alone? By no means, they always do it on a square basis, always apportion it to each section of the State, and are we to suppose that the Socialist Labor Party is going to be more foolish than the old political parties? Certainly not. The metropolitan members of the Socialist Labor Party will have just as great a regard for the interests of the Party as the old political parties have for their interests, and it will certainly not be so foolish as to adopt such a suicidal policy as to take all the delegates from one locality and give no recognition whatever to those outside. But there

is another feature in this proposition. It is the old attempt to dictate to States and cities just how they shall manage their affairs. We have already argued several times that we must trust the good sense of our membership, that if they have no good sense, we cannot expect to accomplish anything good from them by making rules. The matter is really one for the state organization to determine. The State is entitled to so many delegates and can then go to work and decide where to take them from. That is proper. It would be just as absurd in this convention to go into these details as if a certain State were colonized largely by people of a foreign population, with only a few speaking the English language, and a very small minority should come here and ask us to tell them they should choose their delegates from the English-speaking people and not from those who speak the language of the founders of the State and who support the ticket. The amendment should be voted down. Let us have some confidence in the local sections and cities and preserve some of the right of self-government.

Delegate MEYER. At the present time the small cities are not represented. Just as soon as you get any distance from New York, you find the small cities cannot raise money enough to send delegates. Consequently, the argument of Reinstein does not hold good, that it will deprive the country of representation. It will just give the country a chance to have its representatives represented here, which is not the case at the present time. Furthermore, if there is an element of Kangarooism antagonistically inclined towards the Socialist Labor Party, you will find that the element which actually sticks to the Party will stick to the country members of the Party and they will help them to send loyal delegates instead of sending Kangaroo delegates there. And I claim you will find it a more just system of representation than at the present time. Furthermore, there is no clause in this new system which deprives any State from making a state constitution so that it will have delegates selected from the different cities.

National Secretary KUHN. May I interject that the "National Suspension Committee" would take care of these Kangaroos before they would land in the convention?

Delegate DINGER. I am opposed to the amendment and favor the original proposition which was adopted. All this bugaboo about Kangaroos doesn't apply. In the State of Ohio we have had some experience and the same thing will apply to all other States. It was possible for us to call a state convention and nominate our candidates in the state convention—for presidential electors, I mean. We have this year decided to nominate these electors by general vote, and I believe the delegates to the national convention could be elected similarly. I must say that these candidates for electors for the State of Ohio are more representative of that State than ever before, and it is a proof that this argument about proportional representation is also not tenable. We had nominations made from all sections of the State. The state committee called for nominations from all parts of the State, and it was the purpose of the state committee to give a fair representation of the whole State. That is one of its duties. Hence all your ob-

jections are not tenable at all. I heartily support the original proposition.

The amendment of Delegate Reinstein, discussed above, and which reads as follows—

Resolved, That the present system of representation at the national convention, in proportion to the vote cast in each congressional district, be maintained—

was voted upon and lost by 9 votes in favor and 44 against.

Delegate Reinstein asked to be recorded on the minutes as having voted for the amendment.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The convention then proceeded to take up—

ARTICLE X—OFFICIAL PARTY ORGANS.

Section 1. The *Daily People* and the *Weekly People* shall be the official Party organs.

Section 2. The management of official Party organs shall be administered by a board of trustees consisting of three Party members, who shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 3. The procedure in removing or suspending the board or any member thereof and in case of a vacancy in the board in whole or in part, shall be the same as that provided for the editor of an official Party organ under Article IX, Section 3.

Section 4. The trustees shall hold the property of the official Party organs in trust, to be controlled and managed for the best interests of the Party, in accordance with the constitution, principles, declared resolutions and tactics of the Party.

Delegate DE LEON. I suggest that the last words [of Section 4] be stricken out, so as to end with "best interests of the Party."

National Secretary KUHN. It appears to me it might as well stand. It is fairly prohibitive, as it were. It simply says that they shall do a certain thing. It gives them no control over the tactics. If the wording is such as to give them any control over the tactics, it should be changed: that belongs to the province of the National Executive Committee. It merely orders them to do a certain thing in accordance with another thing, and I think we might as well leave that stand. It is an additional tack, as it were, and doesn't do any harm. They cannot control the tactics of the paper. That is the business of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate DE LEON. What on earth has the board of trustees to do with tactics?

Delegate CURRAN. The point is as to the possibility of hanging them sometimes, if you want to.

National Secretary KUHN. If I understand the committee, they put it in this way to bind the board and prevent them making any attempt with things that are not under their jurisdiction.

Delegate DE LEON. I move to amend "to be controlled and managed for the Party," and leave out everything else. What have the board of trustees to do with tactics of the Party or resolutions? As trustees, they have the management of the Party property, to be run for the Party as trustees, and there it ends—the mechanical part. I can imagine some one who might want to say: Here, we are the trustees; such and such an article shall go in there. Or might

say: Here, I interpret the Party tactics to be this. But their functions begin and end with the mechanical getting up of the paper.

Delegate CURRAN then finally read the section, as follows:

Section 4. The board shall hold the property of official Party organs in trust subject to the constitution and resolutions of the Party affecting their management.

Section 4 as last read together with the other three sections (which were not discussed) were thereupon adopted.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM S. T. & L. A.

Delegate SCHULBERG then made a motion that "three fraternal delegates from the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance be seated at the S. L. P. national conventions."

Delegate CURRAN. The committee has considered that and report unfavorably upon it.

Delegate LAWRY. Upon the ground that this political side of our movement is political, and we might have three members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance who are not members of the Party and who could not properly be delegates at a Socialist Labor Party convention.

Delegate DE LEON. I would therefore move the adoption of this amendment: "Provided these fraternal delegates be members in good standing of the Socialist Labor Party."

Seconded.

Delegate WOLFSON. It doesn't meet with my approval. If the Alliance sends delegates, they are entitled to every right and privilege as delegates in the convention; are also at the same time entitled to remain in session, at secret or executive session. As delegates they are also entitled to and in duty bound to report to their respective constituents. If this report of what transpires here is made to organizations that have no connection directly with the Socialist Labor Party, that is a feature I cannot see my way to favor.

A DELEGATE. I have no objections to seating them as fraternal delegates, but to seating them as we are.

Delegate SCHADE. I think the provision necessary that they be given full privileges the same as any other delegate, if they are members of the S. L. P.

Delegate DINGER. Wolfson says that they will go back to their constituencies and report and strangers will hear it. Strangers would also hear the report at the section meetings.

Delegate NUSSLE. Supposing they have one man among them they want to send to the convention, but he happens to be no member. I think that should be guarded against. A delegate must be a member of the Party and have certain qualifications.

Delegate DE LEON. I wish to change my amendment so that instead of "members in good standing of the S. L. P.," it read: "Provided these fraternal delegations have the qualifications of a member of the Party as a delegate to this body."

Delegate SIMPSON. I personally would like to see the day come very soon when the Alliance will send delegates to the convention of the Socialist Labor Party the same as branches and organized sec-

tions of the Socialist Labor Party do. I hope to see the day when the trade unions will be so thoroughly solidified with the political movement that the two will be one. At the present, the time is not ripe for it, and the motion aims at having only fraternal delegates here, men entitled to a seat and a voice, perhaps, but not a vote. In that case, it seems to me that the fraternal sentiment would be far better expressed if these men were not necessarily members of the Socialist Labor Party. Of course, we must see that they are not members of other political parties: I do not wish to make an amendment, but I believe that if these delegates of the Alliance would be required to have the same qualifications as the officers of the Alliance, viz., not to be members of other political parties, I believe that that alone should enable them to enter a convention of the Socialist Labor Party if they are sent by the Alliance to express the solidarity of the Alliance with the Socialist Labor Party.

Delegate DINGER. I favor that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance shall have two or three fraternal delegates to this body, for the same reason the Socialist Labor Party is called upon every time the S. T. & L. A. has a convention to send delegates to that body.

Delegate DE LEON. If the Party is allowed representation in the S. T. & L. A. convention, why should not the S. T. & L. A. be entitled to representation in this body on the same ground?

Delegate REID. I do not think it advisable for this motion to pass as it stands even now. I think that we should not try to draw a parallel between the fact that the S. T. & L. A. allows the S. L. P. representation in their convention. That is no argument that we should have S. T. & L. A. delegates to the S. L. P. convention. The S. L. P. is the force, is the Party that must dominate the Alliance, that must guide the Alliance, and for that reason it was wisely put in the constitution that we should have delegates from the Socialist Labor Party to act in an advisory way and to influence the convention of that economic organization. I do not think at the present time this convention should pass any motion inviting fraternal delegates.

The motion as follows—

Resolved, That three fraternal delegates from the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance be admitted to the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, provided that such delegates have the qualifications required from regular delegates of the Socialist Labor Party—was thereupon adopted.

NON-CITIZEN APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE PARTY.

Chairman Curran of the Committee on Constitution then read a resolution proposed by Section Buffalo, providing that "applicants for admission to the Party who are not yet citizens of the United States shall be required to take out their first papers declaring their intention to become citizens before they are admitted to membership."

Delegate CURRAN. The committee do not recommend it favorably, for the reason that this is implied by the whole procedure of the Party. The members of the Party are supposed to become citizens just as soon as possible. Another thing is the attempt to load down the constitution with regulations trying to give sections the cue they

should take. The application card calls for them to state whether or not they are citizens, and the sections are supposed to look after that themselves, and simply putting a rule in to that effect will not make the sections do it any more than now.

Delegate Biltsbarrow then introduced the following resolution, to be incorporated under the head of "Miscellaneous Regulations":

Resolved, That hereafter no one holding office as organizer for any trade or labor union other than the S. T. & L. A. shall be given credentials as a representative of the S. L. P.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE S. L. P.

Delegate Meyer offered the following amendment to the constitution on the qualifications for membership in the S. L. P.:

If any member of the Socialist Labor Party accepts office in a pure and simple trade or labor organization, he shall be considered antagonistically inclined towards the Socialist Labor Party and shall be expelled. If any officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization applies for membership in the Socialist Labor Party, he shall be rejected.

Seconded by Delegate De Leon.

Delegate DE LEON. My experience tells me that the pure and simple leaders give jobs to Socialists for the purpose of corrupting them, upon the same principle that the capitalist politicians give jobs to workmen for the purpose of corrupting the working class. [Applause.] The workmen's movement, the labor movement, as a rule, has been prostituted in this country by the jobs, political and otherwise, that the capitalist politicians give to some individual workmen, and they give such jobs in a clever way. They do not choose a dull or quiet man. They choose a man who is clever, above the average, a man who has some influence over the judgment of the workmen whom he comes in contact with. Then they have that man by a string. He has to protect his job; and, having to protect his job, through that string, as through a tube, the capitalist politicians dictate the tune they want that man to sing. In the same way the fakirs do with the jobs at the disposal of the pure and simple unions. They pick out some workman who is a member of the S. L. P. and they have a keen eye and a keen nose to detect weakness.

Take the case of Isaac Bennett. I considered Bennett to be a good man, who understood Socialism well. He was violent against the pure and simplers, the same as some workmen who are considered violent against the capitalists and are seized upon by the capitalists with jobs. The pure and simplers smelt Bennett's weak spot. His capacity to get a job in the factory had been destroyed for some time; his capacity to maintain his little cockroach cigar factory had been materially impaired. So long as the man had a little tenement factory, he could be supported by those Party members who paid for the cigars that he supplied them with. But the opportunity for such jobs decreased; more and more cigarmaker members of the Socialist Labor Party had to set up tenement cigar factories of their own; of course their field also was the membership of the Party; consequently there was competition between them, and presently sales had to be halved, quartered, and divided by ten, twenty, and more. Bennett found that he could not make a living. The fakirs heard of it and they gave him a job on the strike committee. When he got on the

strike committee, it was to his interest to start strikes and keep them up, despite orders of his union. The man fell.

Take another case, that of Tobin. It was one of my sorrows that I had to write against him. Tobin was a good Socialist; he had a clear idea of Socialism, understood it exactly. Through the columns of *The People* he advertised himself, not intentionally, but he became advertised to the fakirs. Thereupon Murray, of the K. of L., whose man Powderly had been put out at Philadelphia, Murray, who started the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, with that keen understanding of human nature for which I must give the fakirs credit, did not pick out himself, did not pick out an obscure man; he looked over the field and picked out this one dangerous man to himself and other fakirs, he picked out Tobin. And just as soon as Tobin became office-holder in that union, Tobin's face changed. He began to be a tight-rope dancer, began to wobble; began to have two different faces, three, four and ten as he travelled through the country. At Cleveland he makes a Socialist speech, reported in the *Volksfreund*, which is a very fine speech. Then he goes down to Covington, Ky., and there makes a pure and simple speech, and here in New York, backed by the Allied Printing Trades, backed by the fakirs of the International Union, goes upon the platform with them, pushes them forward, breathing the pure and simple rot of "get together," "fight capital with capital," and steps forward to organize the shoe workers, and never once denies these poisonous principles that have been poured in his presence into the ears of these men. He tried to establish an organization in the city of New York against the Alliance, and that was what broke the camel's back, and we went for him.

I can give you a large number of illustrations, but I think I can condense it all by repeating that these jobs are used by the pure and simplers against the Socialist Labor Party the same as capitalist politicians use their jobs against the working class at large. And we should stop it. We have seen, owing to exceptional conditions, *bona fide*, honest, good members of the Party who have not succumbed to that influence, but, if they have character enough, they will admit that they will have to be sacrificed for the benefit of the Party. If we do not establish a principle of that sort, we expose ourselves to having the fakirs get their handiwork right into our organizations. By means of having these men in our ranks, fakirs can at any time be heard in our assemblies. I can cite you, for instance, when in 1895 the motion was made—by Comrade Sanial, I think—that the Alliance be endorsed by Section New York, there was a carpenter who subsequently became a cantankerous Kangaroo—got beastly drunk on the night of July 8 so as to pick up courage—a member of the Party then, who spoke violently against the motion, and as soon as the motion was carried, he sent his boy with the news across to a saloon, where P. J. McGuire was anxiously waiting to see what action Section New York had taken.

The Alliance will inquire into the political activity of the officers of the Alliance, and requires that no member of the Alliance shall take any active part in politics unless such politics be the politics of the S. L. P. and no other. In line with this, we should take this precaution and prevent any member of the Party from accepting a job from the

pure and simplers or a man who has a job in a pure and simple union from joining the Party. [Applause.]

National Secretray KUHN. This is certainly a very important step we are about to take if this amendment of Comrade Meyer is adopted, and we ought to understand full well what we are doing. I must say that I do not favor it. The terms "officers of pure and simple unions" and "pure and simple unions" would have to be a little more clearly defined. I feel confident that at this very day a great number of members of the Party, good and active members of the Party, are officers in a way of such unions, recording secretaries, financial secretaries, whatever it may be. Members of the Socialist Labor Party will sometimes go into very small towns, will find there a union of their trade, and because of their knowledge of the labor movement, and because of their energy, push and intelligence, they become very soon the whole show, and naturally are lifted into such positions by the members of such union. They are too insignificant; you cannot compare that with the Tobin matter, with the case of any of these men whom the pure and simplers would think worth while capturing and buying—that is utterly out of the question. But there are such men, all over the country, members of the Party, who hold offices in these unions one way or another. It has been my experience with a number of correspondents of mine who are organizers of sections, that they were at the same time officers of such unions. Comrade Meyer himself for a long time was an officer of such a union. Hammond, for instance, was for many years, I think, officer in the typographical local in Minneapolis. Another comrade, one of our best men in Brooklyn, a German, one of the most active men, Gleiforst, member and president of the carpenters' union in Brooklyn, has, together with a number of other Party men, kept the Kangaroos there down, the fighting sometimes leading to the raising of chairs. And throughout the years of my experience, any number of such men have come to my notice in my correspondence. When we adopt a resolution of that sort we ought to fully understand what it means and its consequences, and what effect it will have all over the country and how many members of the Party, bound, compelled, to make a living at their trades, and very often bound and compelled under the circumstances to be members of these unions, will be placed before the choice of either getting out of the Party or resigning these positions that they may hold as president of a local union, treasurer, recording secretary, or whatever else it might be. This we ought to fully understand before we take action.

Delegate MALLONEY. If that amendment can be so amended as to define it in a clearer and more comprehensive manner, as Comrade Kuhn has stated, I would be in favor of it. I do not know just how it could be amended to define just what Comrade Kuhn means. While there may be instances of comrades, and true comrades, that have to work in the pure and simple labor unions, this resolution does not prohibit a comrade from being a member of a pure and simple union, but prohibits him from being an officer of it. I believe he is more use on the floor of a union meeting than he is in an office. [Applause.] While Comrade Kuhn cites many cases, this is the point to be summed up: Are the number of cases and the number of unions

swung from pure and simple into revolutionary fighting movements in the majority, or the fakirs that have got into pure and simple labor movements and swung them into corruption?

De Leon cites Tobin. In 1896 I participated in a six-cornered debate with Tobin. There were Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitionists, Silver Bugs and Gold Bugs, Tobin and myself, and the best speech that was made there that day was made by Tobin. I happened to speak after the Republican, the Democrat speaking first. Tobin spoke last, and he picked up all the ends that had been neglected and simply threw them into my side of the scale. He made one of the best Socialist speeches, I think, that was made that whole year in Massachusetts. But look at what the man has done afterwards. He went into the city of Brockton and there he would cause a strike. From evidence given to me he organized a strike—gets the men out, gets the sentiment of the men, and pulls out his watch and tells them that he must hurriedly leave and catch a train, and goes down to the board of trade of that city and gives them the whole sentiment of the strikers, tells the board of trade there that the men are a gang of thick heads and fools and do not know what they want. Next day the city of Brockton was placarded everywhere that the strike was lost, the backbone was broken. Tobin, the man who was receiving revenue from those strikers and his source of living, broke that strike. In the city of Brockton he compels the manufacturers to pull twenty-five cents a week out of the men's pay. In Holbrook it is exactly the same thing. In the city of Lynn the manufacturers get him to organize pure and simple unions. Eight years ago in Massachusetts for a shoemaker to belong to a pure and simple union was evidence that he would be discharged; now it is evidence that he will be discharged if he does not belong to the union. You must belong to Tobin's union.

Now, then, is there any comparison between this and where a member that is loyal to the Party has gone into and swung a union like that into the S. T. & L. A.? The fakirs have been most cunning and corrupt. They are people who have been far-seeing, so far as corruption is concerned, and Tobin is the leader of the fakirs of the United States to-day. He is sagacious, astute, and understands, as De Leon says, something of the human nature of people, and he takes advantage of it. And if we are going to have a loyal member in the branches of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, and that man is so short-sighted and small-minded as to occupy a position where all his time and energies go to the benefit of the fakir gang, instead of going on the floor and fighting them tooth and nail, I say that that comrade is not assuming an attitude that he ought to assume. Consequently I am in favor of this resolution. [Applause.]

Delegate WOLFSON. I wish to amend by inserting the word "salaried" before "officers."

Seconded.

Delegate SPETTEL. Kuhn mentioned Hammond's name. More than a year ago he absolutely refused, as a loyal S. T. & L. A. man, to hold any office in his union. The amendment would suit nobody better than it would suit Hammond. [Applause.]

Delegate KATZ. The resolution of Comrade Simpson was adopted that no members of the Party should belong to the National Executive Committee who are employed by that Committee, so that they may not be swayed by their material interests, and so I believe it is with a man who holds a position in a trade union. If he is paid by a trade union, he will naturally be lost to the Socialist Labor Party. I know that in the Seidenberg affair in the city of New York I have been one of a committee at \$3 a day for walking in front of the factory, and had I had a wife like Bennett, a wife waiting on Saturday for him with a club, I might have fallen into a hole like Bennett did.

Delegate REID. I do not believe that the amendment should be so sweeping as to prohibit men from being officers of pure and simple labor unions under some capacities. I favor prohibiting salaried officers. We know that the S. T. & L. A. has not extended its ramifications to every corner nor the S. L. P. to every little town. There are certain occasions that can be taken advantage of that this might prohibit. I think it should be made to cover all salaried officers of any economic organization other than the S. T. & L. A. Because there is no question about it, from the general experience we have, of the tendency of members of the Party—and it is generally in a community where the Party is not sufficiently strong to hold a man down—the tendency to be placed in these positions. And one feature not looked at: that activity in a trade union generally results—if that trade union is active in any sense at all—in that the individual who is quite prominent and apt to be elected to office, gaining, of course, the ill-feeling of the bosses, finds his chances for a job at his trade or craft are impaired, the chances of gaining employment and supporting himself at that particular calling are somewhat uncertain.

Then a job is proposed or comes to him as an officer of a pure and simple trade union. He buoys himself up with the hope that he is sufficiently strong to get hold of that organization and swing it into a progressive movement, but immediately upon getting into position the enmity of the bosses increases still further against him; and he finds himself in a peculiar place: he finds that now he has a number of bosses, finds it better to temporize and not to take a bold stand; that the disruption of the organization which, he reasons, does "some good," would be accomplished should he be too harsh; gradually he develops and goes forward until he becomes an open enemy of the Socialist Labor Party. I think, for that reason, it might be well to have a resolution of this kind passed barring salaried officers.

I agree with Malloney that comrades should have sufficient sense to burden upon the pure and simple all the work, and use their energy and time for the education of the workers inside and out of the unions. It is the height of foolishness for the Socialist Labor Party members, at this stage of the game, to accept jobs at the hands of the pure and simple unions and thus handicap themselves in the matter of agitation. I think we should put some bar upon this for the good of our own membership.

A great many comrades are under the illusion that we can do some good on the inside. I have experience that shows that even capturing an organization is not sufficient. Building up the real Social-

1st Trade & Labor Alliance will have to be done outside. In the National Union of the Textile Workers some years ago we sent a delegation from Rhode Island up to that convention which was located in Lawrence, Mass., and virtually captured the whole executive board. It is true that two or three of the salaries were not sufficiently large possibly to tempt "Yours truly" to develop down the slope towards fakirism, but the executive board under their control spent all the money that year in sending out some 20,000 to 30,000 Socialist pamphlets. It sent out a manifesto which was sufficiently strong to receive the endorsement of the editor of *The People* by its appearance in *The People*. But it was not sufficient to capture that organization in that way. We did our work, but we could find throughout the whole country that comrades who were in sympathy with us, but not sufficiently aggressive in this matter, could not see the necessity for the harsh measures, were always afraid of their organization being "disrupted," and in that way some officers of the S. L. P. and also members of the Textile Workers Union really handicapped and balked the work.

Philadelphia is an illustration of that case, where people claiming to be Socialists, holding cards in the Socialist Labor Party, actually voted—when we went to that next convention and made our last grand stand, when the Hon. P. J. McGuire was sent there by Gompers, and the recommendation in my report was submitted that we join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance outright—Socialists, so-called, who at former conventions had supported resolutions of a Socialist nature, were found voting against the proposition. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to protect such people as this. It is necessary, in these districts where the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance sentiment is strong, that these comrades be protected by being forbidden to hold any position in that way, and going into these organizations and wasting their energies. I therefore offer this as a substitute:

That no salaried officer of an economic organization other than the S. T. & L. A. shall hold membership in the Socialist Labor Party.

Delegate DALTON. The substitute by Delegate Reid appears to bear within it the seed of the very evil we want to get rid of. Comrade Kuhn stated that there were men throughout the country, good members of the Socialist Labor Party, who were in pure and simple trade unions, and who, because of their knowledge of the labor movement, and because they towered head and shoulders as a matter of fact above the skates and most of the ignorant fakirs, were given these positions. Comrade De Leon has well set forth what becomes of the man who is given a salaried place. I think there is no need to dwell on that. But I am not in favor of inserting the word "salaried" in there, for the very reason that Comrade Kuhn tells us about. If it is true that the energy, the activity and the intelligence of a Socialist workingman are used to build up and buttress up that which is a buttress of capitalism, then the Socialist Labor Party should say in words in which there can be no mistake: "You must not accept any office, salaried or otherwise, in them. If you are forced by the conditions of your trade, if you are forced in order to get bread and butter, to join a pure and simple trade union, let that be as far as you go in unconscious disloyalty to your class. Do not attempt to keep

in existence that thing which we are fighting to keep out of existence. Do not with your words and energy help them in any way." If that pure and simple union would go to pieces without the aid of the Socialist, what does the Socialist do in there? This convention marks a forward step. It will say to the world: "The revolution has proceeded to this point where no longer we shall call on our comrades to carry the revolutionary spirit into the pure and simple labor-fakir-led, rotten, decoy-duck organizations." No, we say: "We call upon the Socialists of the United States to get out of the pure and simple organizations and smash them to pieces." [Applause.] If you say to me that we will lose good Socialists, I say you had better lost them long ago. We lost many a "good comrade" on July 10 in New York, 'Frisco, Chicago, and other places, and to-day and last night we exulted and said: All hail to the Kangaroo that we lost! Long may he go to his own funeral! I am not in favor of inserting "salaried." I think it should be stated explicitly and in words that no man can mistake: "No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall accept any office in any pure and simple organization." And I hope that when the next convention of the Socialist Labor Party meets, when the proletariat of this country gathers again in a revolutionary assemblage, that the words will then be put in: "No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall *join* a pure and simple organization." [Applause.]

Delegate TECHÉ. As far as I am personally concerned, I am heartily in sympathy with the sentiments spoken. But I believe at the same time that there is such a thing as pulling the strings a little too tight, to run a little too fast, and I believe with Comrade Kuhn that circumstances alter cases in many instances. I will give you an instance in my own case. I have belonged to a trade union ever since I came to this country, and belonged to the same in the old country—a small concern, only about, say, ninety men in the whole country left of us. In this organization every officer belongs to our Party, old tried and true comrades, and I can further point out that in percentage of members who are Socialists and of collections made, there is no organization in this country that can come up to it, especially if we take into consideration the wages we have been earning. If this clause goes through, without any further ado all of us must resign, and we flatter ourselves that we have elevated our union. At the same time, to try to swing that organization into the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is as impossible as to fly up to the moon. At the same time to leave the reins of that organization in the hands of a few very reactionary men, that is very hard, too, and that is where we will be placed, and it is very hard to find a straight road out of this tangle. Comrades have spoken about "salaried." They are salaried, if you call it salaried when they get \$5 and \$10 a half year. Probably the whole union will be broken up after the Fourth of July, as we will have to go away. It is very hard to have to give up your union which you have stood by for twenty years. We are affiliated with nothing, but still it is a pure and simple trade union.

Delegate KRETLOW. I endorse the sentiments expressed by Comrade Kuhn. I am holding office in a pure and simple union also, but

personally I will tell you that I believe that a comrade with good judgment will resign his office whenever it is possible and as soon as possible, and that is what I intend to do. I have found out that I cannot swing my organization into the Alliance, and I shall not waste any more time by holding office there. I will rather spend my time that I used to occupy as office-holder for agitation for the S. L. P. But the resolution introduced is too sweeping altogether. One comrade advocated a sweeping resolution who has never been a member of a trade union. There are many points on which it is practically impossible to speak unless you are a member of a trade union. If you carry that motion or amendment, the comrades in Chicago who are the most active now must resign from the Socialist Labor Party, because they cannot find work unless they belong to the organization of their trade, and some of them hold office now.

Delegate DE LEON. Point of order. They shall not step out of the union, simply they shall not hold office in their union.

Delegate KINNEALLY. I wish to say to the convention that the harm that one individual may do will cause more damage than if you had to put out every man in the Socialist Labor Party that holds any kind of office in a trade union. We have one man in our assembly district who was a delegate to the last national convention of the Socialist Labor Party. His name is Howard Balkam, holding a position in the Painters' Union. He used the prestige that he received in the Socialist Labor Party to elect him as walking delegate of the Painters' Union. He now is in the Kangaroo camp—Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Assembly Districts—and he has left an impression in that vicinity that takes all our time to overcome.

Delegate BOLAND. I am unqualifiedly in favor of this resolution. I do not want to see any Socialist Labor Party member in a position where he can even be contaminated by the pure and simplers. It is our duty to break the pure and simple trade union and to force the membership of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance on the firing line and stay there and never let go.

Delegate LAWRY. I have had some experience with the old style pure and simple trade union. I was a member of the old Miners' National Union of Pennsylvania when I was a boy of fourteen years of age, and was a delegate to the convention of the American Association of Iron and Steel Workers held in 1883. I have been a member of the old style unions for thirteen years and know something about them. What is a member of the Socialist Labor Party in an old style pure and simple union for? Simply because he has got to be. What is it but to get a job or to be paid a salary or to get there for the purpose of securing such? As Comrade Dalton said in relation to the same matter, any man who holds any kind of a position in an old style labor union is helping that union to exist. [Applause.] I claim, Comrade Chairman, that any sort of a position, whether it pays a salary or not, is helping that old organization to exist. A member who is bound to join that from an economic point of view, to make a living, we can readily excuse; but we cannot readily excuse any man who would go there voluntarily when he is not forced into it; and I say with Comrade Dalton that I hope four years hence we will be able to have such rigid rules that we can keep out any and every

man that belongs to an old style pure and simple union. [Applause.] But that day has not arrived yet. We have grown to that stage when a loyal member of the Socialist Labor Party shall no more than countenance it by his membership. I say that the motion made here to keep every officer out of the Socialist Labor Party is an absolutely correct one in principle. The man can belong as a simple member, without holding office in the same. It is the officers who uphold the organization from the lowest office up to the highest. Therefore I hold that the Socialist Labor Party at this convention will do certainly the proper thing to keep out and to put out any member of the old style pure and simple union who holds an office in that kind of organization. [Applause.]

Delegate SCHADE. In reference to the young element coming into our movement, I think it is time that we take such measures as this resolution speaks about, because we do not want the young element to be contaminated by the pure and simpler in any form. We see the convention as a whole is a young convention, and I don't want to see the young men growing up now joining pure and simple unions. I agree with the remarks of Comrade Malloney.

Delegate HICKEY. The debate has taken on a very peculiar character. We had a resolution introduced earlier in the evening by Comrade Sanial—the Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions—and in support of that report—I believe the Chair will bear me out in the statement that it was taken by a rising vote and that every member present of this convention arose to his feet in support of the motion—and yet we find about an hour and a half afterwards that there are men talking against the spirit of the resolution introduced by Comrade Sanial [applause], because that resolution on our attitude towards trade unions, if it is anything, it is a resolution of uncompromising warfare to the knife against the pure and simpler. [Applause.] Therefore the question is, From what portion of the union can you fight best? Can you fight the best in the president's chair, where your time is taken up with parliamentary law? In the secretary's position, where you are checking off dues and keeping the minutes? The firing line of the pure and simple union is on the floor and that is where we must be. [Applause.] I am, let us say, a member of the International Typographical Union. I am in your organization simply because at the present moment you can compel me to belong. But, inasmuch as I am opposed to "scabbery" of all kinds, I detest and hate Governor Steunenberg, who is a brother member. I have no use for Kennedy. I cannot be an officer in a union that supports and keeps them up. Then, as the debate proceeded a little farther, we heard some most remarkable experiences of these officers. One comrade was an officer for ten years, who informed us that the remainder of the officers of his union were also officers for ten years. What report does he make upon these ten years' work as an officer? His report is that, first, there is never any hope in the world, not in a hundred years, of getting them into the Alliance; and secondly, that the whole union is going up in the air on the Fourth of July; and this is what they have to show for ten years' work in a pure and simple union as officers. It follows, therefore, that we cannot look at this officer question from any other glasses than from

the glasses through which he looks at it. As to Kretlow's peculiar position as to the A. S. E., he is about to resign his position as officer of that A. S. E. Very good thing, seeing that it is not a union. It had some 2,400 members when it was started thirty-four years ago, and now it has about 1,700 members and Isaac Cowan; and inasmuch as it is not now and never has been anything in the United States except an ambulance upon the economic battle-field, it ought to go; and inasmuch as most of them are taking on that character, we should proceed to carry out this resolution in all that is implied. We should proceed to take a rising vote on this question. We should proceed to lay it down that it is uncompromising war to the fakir. And mark you, if we do not take that unqualified position, we cannot set ourselves correctly to the task that is before us. The pure and simple movement has spread pessimism and demoralization throughout the whole working class of the United States. We cannot afford to use a tender hand on these gentlemen nor kid gloves on them. We simply have to go at them and smash them from top to bottom, and to do that, any member of our Party who is an officer must turn in his resignation as an officer, get down on the firing line and fight them from the floor. [Applause.]

Delegate CARLESS. Right after Teche had spoken I felt half inclined to offer an amendment that the resolution should apply only to those organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., but upon mature consideration, I think it is unwise to make even that allowance. Comrade Teche has told us that one-half of the members of his union are Socialists. Now, it seems to me that if one-half of the members of his union are Socialists, it is a very simple matter to swing one or two others into line and the whole union go into the Alliance, and then he and the other officers who are now members of the Party could remain as officers of their local union.

I might state personally that I happen to be an officer of a pure and simple union that is much like Delegate Teche's union, inasmuch as we are not attached to the Knights of Labor or to the American Federation of Labor. I am sorry to say, though, we have not as yet so great a percentage of our members Socialists as he says are in his union. I have on several occasions drawn the attention of the members to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and had made arrangements for Hickey to address our local union and at that meeting we would have tried to swing them into the Alliance. But now I am about to come to my reason for not being in favor of making any difference, no matter what the organization may be.

When the last election of officers took place, they insisted that I must occupy the chair as president of the local union. I did all I could to get out of it, but they insisted, and finally I said, "All right." But if this convention here to-night says, "No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall hold any office in any pure and simple union," I assure you that at the next meeting of my local union, I shall notify them of that fact, and tell them: "If you want me to be the president and use my time and energy in behalf of this union, then you have to come with me into the Socialist Labor Party." [Great applause.] And I realize what Comrade Kuhn says about workingmen, members of the Party, as a result of their knowledge of the labor

movement, being called upon to fill the offices in these local unions. I know that. We know that much of our time and energy that could be devoted to the Party's work is practically wasted, and I believe that the time has arrived when the members of the Party who are in trade unions should serve notice upon all Democratic and Republican workmen, and say to them: "Even though you do belong to the same organization as I do, I realize that you are just as much an enemy to me as any man who is a capitalist himself." And I believe that, if this motion goes through as it is before us, it will mean that all those men who are to-day presidents, secretaries and financial secretaries—whether they have any salary or not, makes no difference—it means that they will have to step out of their offices and take their place on the floor. I believe that it will be the best means of swinging the whole organization into the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. [Applause.]

Delegate SCHULBERG (alternate for Delegate Keep). What is a pure and simple trade union? It is an organization supported wholly and solely by the capitalist class. All the officers of pure and simple unions are friendly to the capitalist class, whether they know it or whether they do not. As Socialists fighting the capitalists we dare not in any way encourage our men to hold positions in the pure and simple trade unions. It matters not whether he gets ten cents or \$10,000, the fact that he is an officer in a pure and simple trade union is of no benefit to the Socialist Labor Party, is of no benefit to the working class, and we must draw the line sharply, tell the labor fakirs that the pure and simple trade union is a capitalist concern, and as such we throw down the gauntlet. We say to the capitalist class, to the pure and simple trade union, the dupes of the capitalist class, we say this: This system is rotten; your pure and simple union is rotten; and we direct our blows against the union, and directing our blows against the union, we direct them against the Socialists who happen to hold office in that union. If you believe that the Social Revolution is more important than a petty job in a pure and simple union, you will step down, you will tear up your card if necessary, and fight for the Socialist Labor Party first, last, and all the time.

Delegate STEWART. I do not think it necessary for me to say I am sorry at being a member of a pure and simple union. I am not only a member, but president of a local, Niagara Lodge, 330, of the I. A. M., that organization that is more simple than pure. I say that when I go back, knowing as I do that my action will bring on me the hate of a great many men of that organization, I will at the first meeting I attend resign my office of president. [Applause.] I will tell them my reasons why, and I tell you, Mr. Chairman and comrades, hoping you will not think I am bragging or filled with egotism, that inside of two years we will have an Alliance of the machinists in the city of Buffalo that will be second to none in the United States. [Applause.]

Delegate MACTIER. I will just add that I am heartily in favor of the amendment. While some expressed fears as to the danger from the labor fakirs if this motion passed, I thought of an anecdote I read by a senator from Alabama—judging from what we are to do,

from the danger of this movement going to pieces after to-day. You know what he said about orators: "You didn't know which side they were on." If I am to judge, there is but one side here to-day. But if you are going to do any business here, I would say that when a man gets up and expresses our sentiments, unless we have something really additional to say, we should simply endorse what he says. I now asked to be excused from this convention after to-night, as I have to go home to-morrow. In going home I will carry with me a better impression than when I came here, though that was a good one. I am thoroughly satisfied with the work done here. If there was ever any feeling on my part as to the solidity of the Socialist Labor Party, all that has vanished into thin air, and buoyed up with my experience I hope to be able to work better for the Party in the future than in the past and build up a stronger organization in Virginia.

Delegate MEYER. I think a comrade made a statement claiming that I never belonged to a trade union. I belong to a trade union and cannot work unless I belong to it. But no matter whether this resolution passes or does not pass, I know that the day is very near at hand when I shall have to get out of the pure and simple union, for the simple reason that if I do not submit to their dictation, if I do not work for the capitalist class, I shall be fired out. It has happened to me once, when I was a delegate to the trades council in Detroit, simply because I upheld the class struggle, denounced members for upholding the capitalist class, I was refused a seat. As a consistent member of the Socialist Labor Party, I see the day close at hand when I must get out, no matter what action this convention takes. I come from a trade union where wages are higher than in a majority of trades. Wages in my trade union in Detroit are \$4 a day; consequently I have more to sacrifice than a great many. If I cannot work at my trade, I will have to go to a trade where I get small wages. So far as the sacrifice is concerned, there is no sacrifice; if a man is a consistent Socialist, he will have to uphold it. If he doesn't uphold it, he doesn't uphold the resolution passed this afternoon. When Comrade Damm spoke at an agitation meeting in Detroit, the question was asked whether it was consistent for a member of the Socialist Labor Party to be an organizer for a pure and simple union, and, of course, I was chairman there, and I interpreted according to the way the National Executive Committee had interpreted it, because I wanted to obey the decision of the National Executive Committee; nevertheless, I realized it was wrong. And, consequently, we made up our mind to bring this before the convention and have members of the Socialist Labor Party live up to the decision of our convention. This Comrade Damm, although I believe he is a very honest and sincere comrade, is nevertheless engaged and gives his time to a pure and simple union, and, indirectly, the capitalist class. It is useless for one of our men to organize organizations against our organization. And mind you, what is more, on account of his being a member of the Party, he can go into different places and ask those comrades, on account of the endorsement of the National Executive Committee, to help him to keep these pure and simple organizations alive after they have been established. We thus give the fakirs a means whereby to fight us. We bring dues into the treasury of Gom-

pers, and further, we swell his numbers. We should proceed to stop this. Our members should not be allowed to become officers of any such organizations. I have never received any salary from any union as officer, although I have been an officer for many years, but at the same time I worked for the organization, and I have worked just as hard to uphold the Socialist Labor Party as what I would have had I received a salary for my work. I want to stop this business if I can, and so does Section Detroit, and I believe that every comrade here should vote for this resolution, that we should make it unanimous, so we can step before the Socialist Labor Party and the workmen of this country and say: "The Socialist Labor Party as one man objects to any man taking office in a pure and simple union."

Delegate WALSH. This motion will make it absolutely necessary for all our delegates to the Central Labor Union in my city to withdraw, as I understand it. I wish to ask if delegates to the Central Labor Union are officers?

The CHAIRMAN. They are.

The vote on the amendment to insert the word "salaried" before "officer" was then taken by a rising vote, and lost.

On the original motion, Delegate Lawry demanded that the vote be taken by roll-call, which was done, with the following result:

Ayes—Schade, Harrison, Bomstead, Marx, Parker (alternate for Rose), Kretlow, Richards, Stevens, Carney, Noonan, Wolfson, Maloney, Jenness, John Sweeney, Meyer, Spettel, Bilsbarrow, Glanz, Carless, Connelly, Mende, Moore, De Leon, Hickey, Katz, Schulberg (alternate for Keep), Kelnard, Kinneally, Petersen, Pierce, Sanial, Simpson, Hammer (alternate for Vogt), Gidley, Boland, Alexander, Lake, Walsh, Nuessle, House, Luedecke, Reinstein, Stewart, Borton, Kircher, Dinger, Matthews, Fish, Wismer, Munro, Thomas, Rupp, Eberle, Lawry, Vardy, Curran, Reid, MacTier, Dalton, Cooper (alternate for Murphy), Siff (alternate for Brown).

Nays—Teche, Minkley.

Absent—Schmutz, McKeown, Raasch, Schugel, Hess, O'Flhelly, Lyngard, Wilson, McGarry, Bakke, Forker, Joseph H. Sweeny, Zolot, Stowe, Crimmins, Herriger, Jacobson, Reilly, Kroll.

Ayes, 61; *nays*, 2; *absent*, 19.

The convention then proceeded with the vote upon the constitution as a whole, and the same was adopted, with one dissenting voice.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR THE PEOPLE.

Upon motion of Delegate De Leon, the convention next proceeded with the election of a Board of Trustees for *The People*.

Delegate De Leon moved that the present incumbents, Sauter, Vogt, and Fiebiger, be the trustees. Seconded.

Delegate Kircher made a motion, seconded, that the three comrades nominated be elected by acclamation. Carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Delegate Curran on behalf of the Committee on Constitution then reported a resolution presented by Delegate Wolfson (for the various sections represented by him) appealing for aid against the Debs-

erie in northeastern Massachusetts, and recommended that the matter be referred to the General Committee of the State of Massachusetts with the suggestion that the National Executive Committee render such aid as possible. Moved and seconded that the report be accepted.

Delegate WOLFSON. The resolutions have never reached the Committee on Constitution. We need more than the statement that "We are with you," like the Kangaroos of Haverhill sent to the Kangaroo headquarters in New York: "Slobsky, we are mit you."

Delegate KINNEALLY. Referring to the charges against the General Committee of Massachusetts that they have neglected their work——

Delegate WOLFSON. I did not charge them——

Delegate KINNEALLY. No, but they had been charged. I say that the charges were unfounded, and that the General Committee of Massachusetts is well able to take care of Massachusetts, and with the energy and enthusiasm that will be renewed in that committee and in the membership of Massachusetts by the nomination of our comrade from Massachusetts, there is no question that they can handle that to the satisfaction of our comrade and render the assistance required.

The recommendation of the committee was thereupon adopted.

PRINTING PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

The Committee on Constitution next recommended that the proceedings of the convention be printed in book form, if the financial condition of the Party would allow of the same. Adopted.

Delegate Kretlow rose to a question of privilege.

Delegate KRETLOW. I would like to change my vote. I voted, against the mode of electing the National Executive Committee and would rather see it unanimous. I would like to go on record as voting in favor.

No objection.

The convention then adjourned, at 10 p. m., for the day.

SEVENTH DAY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.,

Friday, June 8, 1900.

Convention called to order at 9.30 a. m.

Delegate Carless elected Chairman, Bilsbarrow Vice-Chairman.

Alternate Seidel represented Delegate Vogt.

Reading of the minutes dispensed with.

National Secretary Kuhn then read a letter to the Pittsburg delegates from Comrade Remmel of Pittsburg in response to the notification of his nomination as candidate for Vice-President of the United States. It was as follows:

Your telegram received, also letter containing copy of the same. Had I been at the convention, I certainly would not have permitted my name to be placed in nomination. I think it should not have been done. I have my hands full, and you fellows know it. Some one should have been nominated who could take the stump and do considerable agitation. That I cannot do. However, since you have made the blunder, we will have to abide by the will of the Party, granting that the working class is always right.

Yours fraternally,

VALENTINE REMMEL.

[Applause.]

The Committee on Constitution then reported adversely on the resolution of Delegate Connelly that no employer be admitted to membership in the S. L. P. Recommendation adopted.

ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Committee on Constitution next reported on the resolution of Delegate Simpson, relative to amending the constitution by providing for a national conference of one delegate from each State, to meet annually in a sort of administrative capacity. Committee stated that it considered the scheme impracticable, at the present, at least, whatever might be the future condition of the Party, and therefore reported adversely. Recommendation of the committee adopted.

MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME.

The consideration of the Municipal Programme of the Party was next taken up. The Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Delegate Sanial, remarked as follows:

Delegate SANIAL. I take it for granted that the Municipal Programme has been read carefully by the delegates here present, and they have found that it covers nearly everything that there was in those demands in the "tapeworm" tacked on to the platform, with the exception, perhaps, of the reduction of the hours of labor, right of combination, and a few other things. It contains, of course, much more, and explains the position of the Socialist Labor Party upon a mass of questions such as taxation, education, attitude of municipalities in conflicts between capital and labor, aid to the unemployed so far as is practicable under the capitalist system, and so forth. One of its most important clauses is the imperative mandate. Now, as regards this, we have an amendment proposed by Comrade Kretlow, which is so far the only amendment that has been presented or referred to this committee. I might read the whole clause and show where the amendment begins.

VIII—IMPERATIVE MANDATE.

Whereas, The mere right to vote for candidates, who, when elected, may act as they please during their respective terms of office, is a travesty on popular government;

Resolved, That in accordance with the fundamental principles of Socialism known as the referendum, initiative and imperative mandate, every municipal officer elected as a Socialist shall, as frequently as the city committee of the Socialist Labor Party may direct, and at least once a month, render an account of his acts at a public meeting of the members of said Party residing within the city limits. He shall faithfully and diligently carry out such resolutions as they may adopt at such meeting, and shall promptly resign his office if his recall be demanded by a majority vote of the whole membership of the Party in his own city.

The amendment would make it read so that, instead of the last sentence being "if his recall be demanded by a majority vote of the whole membership of the Party in his own city," it would be, "if his recall be demanded by the National Executive Committee, such recall to be subject to a referendum vote of the membership of the Party in the State where the section is located." The reason given by the mover of the resolution is that it would bar out his excuse to retain office in the event that a majority of his section sustained the action that violated the Party's principles. The committee would also suggest that the National Executive Committee insert somewhere a sentence to the effect—

It falls under the sense that men elected to office by the Socialist Labor Party, and therefore, not only governed in their action by Socialist principles, but subject at all times to the conditions of the imperative mandate, will, in their respective capacities, avail themselves of every opportunity to push to the front any possible palliative measures for the immediate betterment of the wage-working class; such measures, for instance, as the reduction of the hours of labor, the right of combination, and so forth—

which covers things that are not in the present Municipal Program, but which were contemplated formerly by the "tapeworm" at the end of the platform. As to the amendment, I think it is proper, at any rate we might recommend its adoption.

Delegate WISMER. I make a motion that the second clause of the resolution under Municipal Franchises, reading, "a minimum salary supplemented by an equal distribution," etc., be amended to read, "a minimum salary of \$2 per day, of eight hours, supplemented by an equal distribution," etc.

Not seconded.

Delegate Wolfson made an amendment to Article VIII, to the effect that the word "State" be added wherever the word "municipal" occurs.

Delegate WOLFSON. In support of the amendment, I will state that I believe that it is absolutely necessary to embrace also the State. We have instances already where we have elected or will elect state officers. No provision has been made for that. This only applies to the municipal officers.

Delegate SANIAL. In order to simplify matters and clear up the subject, I will state that I opened my report with a proposition which just covers the ground. We realize the necessity of extending this general programme to the State and also to national affairs—in so far as palliative measures are concerned—and that is why the committee has proposed that, as the National Executive Committee will have anyhow to revise somewhat the introduction to this Municipal Pro-

gramme, at the same time it be instructed to insert under a special head, as to state and national affairs, and so forth, a sentence or several sentences or any number of sentences that may be necessary to cover this idea of this provision—

It falls under the sense that the men elected to office by the Socialist Labor Party, and therefore not only governed in their action by Socialist principles, but subject at all times to the conditions of the imperative mandate, will, in their respective capacities, avail themselves of every opportunity to push to the front any possible palliative measures for the immediate betterment of the wage-working class; such measures, for instance, as the reduction of the hours of labor, the right of combination, and so forth—

Mentioning all those measures of which no mention is made in the Municipal Programme, but which were tacked on the platform as the celebrated "tapeworm."

Now, this is the Intention: to cover state and national palliative measures. The imperative mandate, according to this, applies to them as well. "In their respective capacities"—that covers the whole ground, their capacity as members of a legislature or as members of Congress or in any other capacity in state or national affairs. So that, if it be left to the National Executive Committee to revise this and introduce something to this effect, I believe that the convention may fully trust it to have the work done properly and intelligently—that a special heading will be put where it is needed, and then not only the municipal requirements, but the state and national measures will also be covered.

Delegate WOLFSON. That is entirely satisfactory. I only desire that the National Executive Committee embody the intention of my amendment.

The report of the committee—on the Municipal Programme—was then adopted as read.

The Committee on Constitution next, in regard to the resolution of Delegate Meyer, that "no papers shall be recognized as belonging under the Socialist Labor Party unless the mailing list and mailing permit are turned over to the Party as its property," reported adversely, for the reason that the constitution as adopted provides that all property of such papers shall be vested in the Party, and the mailing list and mailing permit are, of course, part of the property. Report adopted.

Delegate SIMPSON. Is it still in order to make a motion relative to the constitution of the Party?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way I understood last night, provided the proposed amendment is handed to the Committee on Constitution.

Delegate CURRAN. It seems to me that sometimes the exigencies of the growth of the Party will bring up such a matter between conventions, and in order to try to clarify the minds of the comrades on it, it would be advisable—if we have the time, and we do have it apparently—to devote some time to discussing such a proposition. So I would move that we take up and consider the report of the committee on this proposition, so far as its adoption is concerned, and discuss the

proposition for forty-five minutes, no speaker to occupy more than three minutes. [Reference is made to a national conference as proposed by Delegate Simpson.—Secretary of the Convention.]

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

The chairman ruled that before taking up the discussion proposed by Delegate Curran, it be ascertained if any of the delegates had any proposition to submit to the convention relative to the delegation to the Paris International Socialist Congress.

Delegate HICKEY. I move that, in line with the resolutions adopted by the convention last night as to trades unions—

The delegation of the Socialist Labor Party to the International Socialist Congress be instructed there to declare absolute and uncompromising war on British pure and simple trade unionism and in every form and in every country.

Delegate SANIAL. I do not think the word "British" is proper. Historically, you may say it is British. Yet it is spontaneous, according to the conditions of a country. I do not believe exactly in that historic evolution. Sometimes there is something like making a historic mistake in trying to make too much of evolution. For instance, you have observed the attempt to absolutely trace the modern trade union to the guilds. It is a great mistake. The guilds, like the modern trade unions, were simply the result of circumstances on account of the natural disposition of men of a certain class or order to coalesce for the protection of their interests, in their own way, according as the various conditions suggested. Now, you have in Germany, it is true, the "Hirsch-Duncker" unions—Hirsch and his donkey. That was also British, for it appears, when trade unionism was permitted in Germany by Bismarck, it was a demagogical measure for the purpose of trying to get the support of the working class, and Mr. Hirsch, with money supplied by the capitalists of Germany, went to England to study that splendid British trade unionism which had been so successful in resisting the onward march of Socialist ideas, and then came back to Germany; but then the idea of establishing such unions had already germinated in the brains of the capitalists of Germany, and they sent Mr. Hirsch there simply to study what had already been done in that line.

In France, in 1884, when the conspiracy laws were repealed and the workmen permitted to form trade unions, those unions sprang up spontaneously, without even studying the British system, and some were actually disposed to be pure and simple—in the character of the conservative and man who is not class-conscious. But, of course, that was put down to a great extent, for the reason that in France the whole labor movement was imbued with the Socialist revolutionary spirit, at least in those cities where the initiative of establishing trade unions was taken or could be taken. So I do not see the use of attacking the word "British"—British trade unionism. I think it would be a good name to use in an argument by the delegate himself to attack these pure and simple British trade unions, which are likely to be represented at the congress. The British trade unions

—the most conservative of them—they hating the Socialist movement of Europe, feel the absolute necessity, in their own pure and simple interests, of attending the Socialist congresses. There has sprung up all over Europe a great development of capitalism, and England is threatened, not only in her commercial supremacy, but industrially, by certain great industries of the continent. This means to the pure and simplers of England a competition which cannot be carried on except upon the backs of the wage-working class of England—a reduction of wages. Therefore, they not only attend Socialist congresses, but they have promoted the holding of trade union congresses in Belgium, in France, and so forth, where they, as delegates of those unions, manifest the most ultra-Socialist sentiment, but are always careful to say: "We must not go too fast;" "we are Socialists, we are more Socialist than you are, but our rank and file holds us back." At the same time such men as Holmes and others that I might name, some of those who have come to this country as fraternal delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, are anti-socialistic, are politicians elected to various offices; they hold offices in Birmingham, Sheffield, and other places, not elected by workmen even, not even by pure and simple trade union action, but either by the Radical or even by the Tory government. So our comrades at Brussels and at Calais and at other trade congresses have repeatedly told them: "We are tired of that; put an end to that. You must place your trade union upon socialistic lines. How long are you going to keep up this necessity for strikes? How long are we going to be compelled to raise funds in order to support international strikes? You do not touch the question." They repeat at every one of these congresses the celebrated words which were written down by Marx for the use of a delegate to a congress of the International. That delegate spoke the words, but it was Marx who wrote them: "It is well enough to war against the individual, in case of absolute necessity, but that is not the question. The question is to war against the system."

Now, you have those men there who profess Socialist sentiment; at the same time they send fraternal delegates to America to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, where Socialism is denounced, and they receive delegates from the American Federation of Labor, which denounces Socialism, for Socialism was viciously denounced by men like Strasser and Gompers; even German Socialism, in the person of Liebknecht and Bebel, was attacked by those men. And yet they still receive all those kicks and never try to put their foot down upon that international arrangement to prevent the progress of Socialism in England and in America. All these things it is to be supposed your delegation will present to the congress. It is not in the congress itself that those things have to be decided. It is the commissions that do the work. The questions are divided and referred to sections, and it is in those sections that all the work has to be done. A report is presented to the congress, and there the discussion is extremely limited; very few people can obtain the floor. But a great deal of work can be done in the sections and can be done especially by agitation from man to man. At any rate, I believe that to-day it has come to that point where, with the colonial policy; where,

with the great competition between the industries on the European continent and of England; and especially with the sudden appearance of America as the great controlling factor of industry throughout the world; with the development of such trusts in this country as the iron and steel and others, with stupendous capitals rising to an amount sometimes of five and six hundred millions of dollars—the time has come when the international Socialist movement is bound to take a certain solid form of organization. Capital is organized internationally to some extent; the trusts will precipitate that organization—it may for the present cause some international competition, which, like domestic competition, must result in a further trustification of industry, a sort of international trustification of industry; and therefore, conditions will attain that point where a solid international organization of the forces of labor is absolutely necessary. And in those conditions, the congress will have to see that certain organizations only are recognized; that as to organizations like the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the American Federation of Labor co-existing in a country, in the United States, and fighting each other, the international movement will have to interfere—will have to say to the American Federation of Labor, You are an enemy of Socialism and you have to be kicked out. [Applause.] This must, of course, be impressed upon that congress. Upon those lines the trade unions pure and simple, with their usual hypocrisy, will fight any proposition of that sort, but it will, of course, be the duty of your delegation to conduct that fight and bring it to the best possible issue.

Delegate LAWRY. Comrade Chairman, in view of the fact that I do not believe that this convention will be able to particularize, I move, as a substitute for the motion of Delegate Hickey, as the instructions of our delegation—

That our delegation be instructed to advocate as fully as possible that all the principles and tactics adopted by this convention be the principles and tactics of the Socialist parties of all countries, subject to the respective customs, traditions and historic conditions prevailing in the countries abroad.

Seconded.

Delegate FORKER. I am heartily in favor of this substitute. Sanial knows the spirit of this convention and reflects the spirit of the Party and the spirit that is embodied in the resolutions we have passed here; and if he will carry out his mandate faithfully—I have no doubt that he will—then he will act in that spirit. Besides that, there are strange developments sometimes in these international gatherings. I found this out at the International Conference. For instance, the French delegates were instructed to insist that only Socialist trade unions were to be admitted at the International Congress in Paris. Now, as soon as the conference opened, the delegate of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, Brockelhorst, made a motion that all labor organizations, no matter what their attitude towards political action, should be admitted at this congress, and I am sorry to say that it had the support of the majority of the delegates to this International Conference. But when the delegates of France and the two delegates of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain, Quelch and Hyndman, and your delegate, threatened to leave the conference if this was

to be a conference to prepare a general labor congress, then it looked for a moment as if the conference would end in a hand-to-hand fight. The Dutch delegates went even as far as to move that the preparations for the International Congress should be taken out of the hands of the French comrades. Of course, the French comrades answered, and so, as I said, it looked as if the whole conference would wind up in a row.

Now, then, there was a committee elected, a so-called "harmony committee." Your delegate refused to go on that committee and he said that he had nothing to arbitrate, that under all circumstances he insisted that only Socialist trade unions be allowed representation at this International Congress. The French comrades carried out their mandate, the French comrades voted against the Brockelhorst proposition. It is true they could not do otherwise, because their hands were tied; but it is a fact that two French comrades were on that harmony committee and that a French comrade recommended to amend that original clause so that, as you have heard it read, all organizations that stand on the principle of the class struggle should be admitted, and the word "Socialism" was taken out of the proposition. Now how was that? Of course, the French comrades voted against it, because their hands were tied, but they went into that committee and admitted them. They could not do otherwise, for the reason that there are certain laws in certain countries of Europe. It was our well-known comrade Rondani that said before that committee that, if they are trade organizations, now matter how Socialist they are, if you admit that they are Socialist organizations, then they are considered by the government as political organizations, and not only will they be dissolved, but also their treasury will be looted by the government. And the same conditions prevail in Austria and in some other countries of Europe. And this was the reason that your delegate, for instance, had to vote for that proposition that was finally adopted. So much as to the Brussels conference.

But now, Sanial, knowing the spirit of this convention, and the spirit of the Party and the resolutions that have been passed, cannot help but work in that direction. But it seems to me that the question is far more important than that, and that is the attitude towards these people that will appear in the International Congress and will pose as representatives of American Socialism. There will appear so-called Social Democrats, Debsites, and it looks as if some of what we call Kangaroos will be there, and now is the question before us: Shall our delegation be allowed to have these so-called representatives of Socialism seated at the congress? Is it possible for our delegation to work side by side with these people that have sought to destroy the only Socialist Labor Party of the United States that was until now represented at the international congresses? [Applause.] And I should say that if any such thing happens, our delegation should be instructed, if such delegates are seated, to protest against that and then withdraw from the congress. [Applause.]

Delegate SIMPSON. As to Lawry's amendment, I believe the first part is so sweeping that it is entirely annulled by the second part, which makes it subject to the historic conditions, etc., prevailing in

each country. I believe that the amendment, if adopted, would simply be of no worth to our delegation in that congress.

Delegate HICKEY. I am positively opposed to the wording of Comrade Lawry's substitute motion. The spirit is all right, but the wording I am opposed to, for the reason that it is too sweeping and it is not again definite enough. The more we study the pure and simple trade union question the more firmly we are impressed with the fact that the pure and simple trade union is the greatest and damndest bulwark that capitalism has to-day in the English-speaking countries.

It is that bulwark against which all the aspirations of the working class are smashed every time—a bulwark that allows for the play of the meanest and the pettiest mud-gutter form of material interests that can arise in the beer-soaked and boodle brain of the dirty labor skate.

We here in America are well acquainted with the stripe that has been dropped on our shores all the time as fraternal delegates—Maudslay recommending that the commodity labor power be put on the shelf for twelve months the same as the Standard Oil Company would put a barrel of oil on the shelf for twelve months, as if there were any comparison between the working class selling labor power and Rockefeller selling his Standard Oil. And yet such a notion as that is placed in the minds of the working class by fellows of the Maudslay stripe. Maudslay then goes back to England and runs for Parliament upon the Conservative ticket and receives the endorsement of the textile unions of Lancashire. Havelock Wilson, of the Sailors, is in the British House of Commons upon the Liberal ticket, much the same as it would be in America upon the Democratic ticket. Burt, of the Coal Miners, with almost 200,000 coal miner wage slaves, is in the Parliament for a number of years, also upon the Liberal ticket. Joseph Arch, another great labor leader, is also in the English Parliament, also on the Liberal ticket. John Burns we all know of; Keir Hardie—all down along the line, a band of the very worst kind of labor skates and crooks, who are misleading our class all the time. Now, we must insist upon this principle, and the resolution I have introduced will enable that principle to stand out clear as if there were a ten million calcium light upon it—this principle: that there are in the labor movement to-day two scabs. There is the economic scab, sometimes a very mean fellow, sometimes he cannot help himself; but for all the time, every day in the year and every second in that day, the political scab is the meanest, the lowest and the most contemptible thing that can possibly be imagined. [Applause.] And consequently we cannot recognize the British pure and simple trade union as a labor organization; and just as enraged trade unionists will take up a brick to down the scab, so shall we take up a club to knock down that British pure and simple trade union. They must be driven out of the labor movement as quickly as we possibly can do it; and therefore, a clean-cut resolution along the lines of the one I introduced, something definite, something to bind, something with which to go before the congress and make the issue clear and direct—that resolution, to my mind, is the resolution that should be adopted. And then the substitute again, under an-

other form, making it more definite, could also come up and be passed. I ask for unanimous consent to drop the word "British."

No objection made to dropping the word "British."

The vote was then taken on the substitute of Delegate Lawry, which was lost.

The vote was next taken on the resolution of Delegate Hickey, which was carried.

Delegate DINGER. I move that—

Our delegation to the International Congress be instructed to withdraw in case any delegation from any other alleged Socialist party in the United States be seated in the congress after our delegation having made protest.

Seconded.

Delegate KRETLOW. Who passes on the credentials of each country?

Delegate SANIAL. According to the rules they have adopted, each delegation passes upon its credentials, and the matter does not come before the congress, unless the delegation cannot agree, unless the dispute in the delegation is such that it has to be settled by the congress itself. I am almost sorry that this motion has been made, because now that it has been made, it has to be settled publicly, and it so binds the delegation one way or the other that no possible judicious action can be taken: only one course is left. It is a very serious matter to withdraw from an international congress, which, after all, is the Socialist international movement, which has for its object or view also to protect the economic movement.

An amendment by Delegate Curran was next offered to strike out "instructed to withdraw from the congress" and substitute "refuse to vote in the congress." Seconded by Delegate Hickey, who added, "or any delegation of any pure and simple trade union."

Another amendment by Delegate Alexander was proposed, to strike out the word "instruct" and substitute the word "authorize."

Delegate SANIAL. I believe it would be wise to put it in that form—"authorize." In such a congress like that, guided by the circumstances largely, a delegation might be able to accomplish a great deal more good than by withdrawing; and if you come right away with a proposition of that sort the congress looks upon you with suspicion, attempting to boss the whole international movement. You place yourselves in a very haughty position. But here is the Parti Ouvrier Français that is holding the same position as we do, and there are other parties in Europe that hold the same position as we do. Now suppose we withdraw and the Parti Ouvrier Français remains? The Parti Ouvrier is, of course, a much larger and more important party than we are, although we may very soon become as great and perhaps a greater party. It is, as I said before, a very serious matter to withdraw from any international congress. If our organization should withdraw and measures are adopted as regards trade unionism—our

organization, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, not being recognized internationally—it would be somewhat of a serious blow. I think that I might further state that some time ago I sent to an old friend of mine, Elie May (who was quartermaster-general of the Commune and who belongs to the Parti Ouvrier Français), a long letter in French, giving him a history of our conflict here and the manner in which we got out of it, the position we occupied, and so forth. All the elements of an intelligent comprehension of our movement in America are in that letter that I wrote. And I asked him to have as soon as possible a meeting of the leading men of the Parti Ouvrier Français and of the Social-Revolutionary Party (i. e., the Blanquists, at the head of which is Vaillant), and in that letter I stated that we did not want to sit in the congress by the side of the Debsites or Kangaroos; that, of course, we wanted to know in advance of any event of that sort what position the Parti Ouvrier Français would take in the congress. And I have lately again written to Belgium. Now we might act in accord with those parties. We might at any rate wait for the answer that we may get; and if this amendment were adopted, according to the answer received the National Executive Committee might also be authorized to give further instructions. I think that would be the wise course for the present. There is no doubt that by that time we will know more about the probable complexion and feelings of the congress and especially of those parties upon which we can rely for absolute support in our position before the congress.

Delegate DE LEON. I hope the chairman will not rule the substitute on this is out of order, as I should be compelled to rule it out of order, were in the chair. If I understand it, there is a motion and at least three amendments on it. I move the adoption of this instruction in lieu of any further and all those that have been proposed:

In case any delegate from any political party claiming to be Socialist in the United States or any pure and simple trade union in the United States be seated in the congress, the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party is instructed to demand the privilege of sitting apart from such impure delegations, to which a seat could not be granted if our European comrades understood the situation in America.

Seconded by Delegate Lawry.

Delegate Dinger withdrew his motion, and Delegates Curran and Alexander withdrew their amendments. No objection to the same.

Delegate DE LEON. The only matter before the house now is the motion offered by myself. There is considerable justice in what Comrade Sanial says about giving absolute instructions to our delegation to the International Congress. Parenthetically I want to say that I do not believe there will be very much lost, for the reason—and this may be entirely my private opinion—from what I have seen in Zurich in 1893, from what I read happened at the two previous congresses, at Paris and Brussels, and from what I read happened at London, together with some other impressions, that these international congresses in Europe are local necessities of Europe. They are essentially peace manifestations; they are essentially manifestations in-

tended to warn the capitalist governments of Europe, which are always on the verge of war, that their armies, however well disciplined and managed, may not respond to the order, in case of war, as enthusiastically as they did when there were no Socialists among them.

I can understand how, in a country that is barely as large as the whole of the United States, and consists of about sixteen nations, perpetually within an inch of one another's throats, that such a convention has a practical significance, an immediate practical significance, however negative. For the rest, as to the international features that attract Socialists so much, I do not see that any such conventions are necessary any more than conventions of capitalists to establish the fact that capitalism is, must be, and cannot be otherwise than international. Capitalism is international, and so is Socialism to be, and Socialism would not be international if capitalism were not. It is only in proportion as it becomes international capitalism that Socialism becomes so. In this view, the congress is a matter of sentiment, and it is properly a matter of sentiment. I am not of those who would make out of man an artificial being apart from the feelings. The Social Revolution is expected to be the culminating revolution of the human race. It is perfectly just that all nations should indicate by some tangible demonstration that they are brothers. Were it not for that, I would at previous occasions have moved to save the Party the money, the time and, I must add, the delegate the annoyance of sitting in one of those conventions. It happens this way: All these nations meet; each one has its own parliamentary practice. Now, any parliamentary practice, now matter how bad it may be, will accomplish some good results if all the members of such a body understand it and know it. Then all know how to move. But you gather sixteen different parliamentary practices, each better than the other, and have each one of the sixteen sets not understand the other and you have a bear garden. That is what it results in. The Germans have their parliamentary practice—I do not admire it particularly, but if every delegation at the International Congress adopted it, they would get along. Now then, the Frenchman does not understand it, and he arises wild with indignation. But if you have a large delegation of all the nations jumping up and shaking their fists at the chair, convinced that they are being tyrannized over, you have a spirit that is not encouraging and that does not lead to the very purpose that the congress is intended to reach.

Then again, as to the speeches, every one has to be produced in the English, the German and the French language. The German rises and makes his speech in German; thereupon that same speech is translated into French: you get a diluted translation. After that, it is translated into English, and then by that time, it is still more diluted. An Englishman rises to make a speech, in English, of course; the thing has to be translated into German and you get that in a diluted state; and next it is translated over into French. And a Frenchman rises and makes a speech, which has to be translated into German and English. When three men have spoken, you have had nine speeches on the same thing. But that is not all. Up rises a southerner who knows neither English, German nor French, but talks in Spanish, and that thing has to be put into English, German and French.

Now, Comrade Sanial knows several languages. I tell you, I never felt the time so heavy as when sitting there and understanding three languages and hearing the same speech three times over. [Laughter.] It is one of the encouraging things—comparing the United States with Europe—how magnificent our opportunities are. We have everywhere the same language and parliamentary practice, and as a result our conventions can be orderly, if we want it.

Whether at this congress we can do any good, I do not know, but on the whole let us go there and be represented. The methods of those congresses are simple, crude. I cannot comprehend how men who have had some experience can tolerate more than once such methods, and it shows to me again how in this respect we here in this country have a tremendous advantage over the masses in Europe. Here we have a political education, and a political education carries with it, whether we want it or no, a certain knowledge and practice of parliamentary procedure.

Now just think of this ridiculousness in the congress saying that every delegation shall decide first upon its own credentials. That sounds very fine. But now they sit there and spread credentials as a farmer spreads seed, and the various countries send delegates according to their funds. Just think of the situation—that Comrade Sanial, representing 85,000 votes in the United States, is there, and the Debsites representing minus 85,000. They have money, they can get it, they have men on the stump getting \$200 per speech, they can travel across and send ten men. Our one man has one vote, and if the ten men have ten votes, the ten-spot captures the one-spot every time, when the one-spot is not an ace. It is absurd. Let me make this point clearer. To the London congress there went a loafer, a physically, morally and otherwise corrupt man, called Winston. He went there as a delegate not even of a pure and simple union—as a delegate of a capitalist organization of a nature that some of the comrades call “boss” unions: the “Liberty Dawn Association of Cab Owners.” That man was joined there, of course—“birds of a feather flock together”—by Bechtold, by this ideological Mrs. Stetson, who came there from Alameda County, California, and there was a tie between them and our delegates, and then the matter went into the congress.

How would you like to have judgment passed upon yourself and your associates in such a congress when the judges do not know the first thing about the United States? I have mentioned in *The People* how funny articles read that you find in the European papers. A little magazine called *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, a French thing, announced that there was in the United States a tremendous Socialist movement; it was the great and grand American Federation of Labor, led by that great Socialist, Sam Gompers. [Laughter.] In Germany, in *Die Neue Zeit*, run by Karl Kautsky, there was an article written by a German in Indianapolis, Rappaport. Rappaport had just written a pamphlet for McKinley in the campaign of 1896! The hand that held the pen that wrote that article was yet filthy with the capitalist bribe that he had received, and his article was an article written to show that there was no Socialist Labor Party in the United States. And that thing was printed, and when objection was raised, they told us: “Oh, well,

we know this comrade and he is a very good comrade." In the English papers you find articles from Mr. Casson, Mr. Z'Whiskey—or whatever his name may be—and others from the United States; Mrs. Martha Moore Avery writes in the London *Justice*. Those men in London, England, should be expected to know from whom they get these articles, so that they should know what value there should be attached to them. No article should be accepted from a person they do not know. They should know what Mrs. Avery's career and Casson's career have been and what Winchevsky is, and yet they print their articles. Our people have not the time to write essays to the Europeans, but these fellows have nothing else to do, and since they have no standing in the United States, they fight their battles in the European press, with the result that the European movement, as a whole, knows virtually nothing of the movement in America. For instance, I am told by Comrade Keinard, who had a talk with Liebknecht, that Liebknecht said that "I have made inquiries and I find that all the charges made by the Socialist Labor Party against Debs are wrong"—this from a man thousands of miles away and who knows nothing about the country. It was in his paper that articles appeared putting the Presidential election of 1892 in 1894! Absolutely mixed up on everything. Such people there conveying the opinion on American conditions is absurd, to say the least.

I do not believe it matters much to us whether we are there represented or not, but as I would rather not have it appear that the Socialist Labor Party is disconnected from the international movement—that sentimental feeling—I would have our delegation instructed not to withdraw, but to demand that they be allowed to sit away from the impure delegation. And there is good precedent for it. And when you talk about their own affairs, they are posted upon that. They do not mean to harm us, they do not mean to put in a crook like Debs, for they know nothing upon that. Upon their own conditions they are well posted. At the London congress a lot of anarchists came in with bogus credentials, shown to be bogus. There was a battle royal in the French delegation, I understand, and finally the congress decided to seat these anarchists. Thereupon Jaures rose and demanded the privilege for himself and his colleagues of sitting away some where else, so that they should not be smutched by contact with such people. It is an established precedent, and it should be enforced again. I think that would go quite far enough, and we can call upon Comrade Sanial to do what he can. And I must tell you that no amount of speeches to be made there, no amount of writings you can write upon the subject, can educate those people upon America. The only thing that will do that is the large vote the Socialist Labor Party will cast from year to year. [Applause.] The vote of the Socialist Labor Party must make the one argument to show that it is the Socialist Labor Party at the head of the Socialist movement of America. It might as well not make any other; it will have no effect. When such argument will not be needed that will be when our vote is so large no argument is required. Then the congress could no longer be imposed upon by such characters as the Winstons, Bechtolds, Statsons and others.

Delegate HICKEY. In connection with the point raised by Comrade

De Leon about the filthy gang that went from this country in 1896, there is an equally filthy gang going this year. There is even a meaner man than ever Winston could think of being. His name is Pierce. It is not our Pierce. In the Tragic Pages, chapter 5, you will find a report of the Tenth Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers, which was in session 10 o'clock Sunday morning until 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon before the committee on credentials reported, and the man who controlled that committee on credentials is the Hanna-gold-standard-politician Pierce, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers' Union, the organization that is now backed by Hanna, so as to crush the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. This organization has introduced the check-off system, with the assistance of the politicians, so that one of our comrades here, Comrade Vardy, has a suit against the coal company he works for, because they deliberately insist on taking his dues out of his wages every week and paying the same to Pierce. This Pierce is going to that congress and this Pierce is going to be seated by that congress. He is going there as a Hanna politician, pure and simple. Is it sufficient for Comrade Sanial to be seated at another table? Why, they would not be in the same ward together, the same side of the city. I believe that it would be altogether wrong to have Comrade Sanial seated in the company of a crook of that description, the meanest and lowest you can imagine. Therefore I introduce this:

That the Parti Ouvrier Français be consulted by our delegation and requested to move with it towards this end: that if any delegate of trade unionism pure and simple, or Debsite or Kangaroo is seated, they and the Parti Ouvrier Français withdraw.

Seconded.

Delegate SIMPSON. I will vote for the motion of Comrade De Leon, but nevertheless I would not like the convention to entertain any false hopes, indulge in illusions. I am pretty sure Comrade Sanial is the man to be seated separately, to be counted as a separate nationality, he and the other delegates of the Socialist Labor Party, and I am equally sure that the motion will be refused.

A DELEGATE. Why?

Delegate SIMPSON. The reason is that he has not fifty-five men behind him. When the French delegation split, there were fifty-six on one side and fifty-seven on the other—Jaures had behind him fifty-five men. When Sanial goes there he may be either alone or have only one or two men behind him. I am pretty sure his motion would be refused. We should not indulge in any illusions on the matter.

Delegate FORKER. The question arises, what Comrade Sanial shall do then. I think there is no other way than to withdraw from the congress, if the request should not be granted. I hold yet that Party affairs in France cannot be compared with the Party affairs here. I hold that the Intellectuals of France do not reach up to the Kangaroos that we have here. I hold there is nothing in the whole world like the Kangaroos we have dealt with in America. They do not try to break up the Parti Ouvrier as the Kangaroos have tried to break up the Socialist Labor Party in this country. It is quite another matter. And furthermore, no matter what the comrades of Europe think of us

and think of our attitude, the actual development of capitalism will bring the same labor fakir in Europe and is bringing him now already, the same labor fakir as we have here; then they will understand our situation, and then they will find out that we have undergone a certain development that they have to undergo yet. It was at the last conference, when I told Liebknecht that the Socialist Labor Party of this country has become so large as not to need any schoolmaster located in any part of Europe. [Applause.] And that we have made experience here that they will have to make yet, and long before they have made this experience they will understand our situation, and will understand our tactics. And when this time comes, no matter whether represented in the congress or not, when this time comes and not before, they will realize our position. I agree with the resolution of Comrade De Leon. If the comrades of Europe grant the demand that Comrade Sanial is to make, it seems to me the only way to be represented there and save the dignity of our name. But if the demand should not be granted, then I think the only way for us to do is to withdraw, under all the circumstances.

Delegate SCHADE. I support the amendment of Hickey. I tell you why. I am in favor of withdrawing, because I believe it will create more notice. If we get in there, it will be a case of boring from within. It was hard to compel notice in the United States when we bored from within. It's the same thing in the International Congress. We will get more notice the world over if we take this step than if we submit to the action of that congress.

Delegate WOLFSON. I am in accord with the original motion of Comrade Sanial, and somewhat inclined to lean towards the amendment as offered by Comrade Hickey. But the wording should be changed. The way it reads now, we are legislating for the Parti Ouvrier Francais.

Delegate HICKEY. The motion reads—

Resolved, That the Parti Ouvrier Francais be consulted by our delegation, and request them to move with it towards this end: that in the event of trade unionists pure and simple, Debsites or Kangaroos being seated, they and it withdraw.

Delegate WOLFSON. If the Parti Ouvrier Francais does not comply, then what do we do? I would like to see provision made that in case of non-compliance by the French delegates with our delegation as regards this point, our delegation be instructed to withdraw just the same, on the strength of the argument made by Comrade Forker.

Delegate FORKER. I offer an amendment to the one presented by Comrade Hickey:

That we instruct our delegation to withdraw from the congress, in case the request of the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party to be seated separately is not granted.

Delegate DE LEON. In order to simplify matters—if the convention allows me—I would add a sentence to my amendment:

That they first demand to sit somewhere else, and in case that is not granted, and then our delegation withdraws, the other delegation be then instructed to withdraw.

Delegate FORKER. I don't accept it.

The chairman decided that the two last motions (of Delegates Forker and De Leon) were unnecessary.

The vote on Hickey's amendment—

Resolved, That the Parti Ouvrier Français be consulted by our delegation and that they request them to move with them towards this end; that, in the event of trade unionists pure and simple, Debsites or Kangaroos being seated, they withdraw—

was then taken with the result of 4 in favor and 48 against.

The vote was next taken on the original motion of De Leon as follows:

Resolved, That in case any delegate from any political party claiming to be Socialist in the United States or any pure and simple trade union in the United States be seated in the congress, the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party be instructed to demand the privilege of sitting apart from such impure delegation, to which a seat would not be granted by the congress if our European comrades understood the situation in America; and in case the request is not granted, the delegation be instructed to withdraw.

The motion was carried by a vote of 56 in favor and 1 (Hickey) against.

Delegate Bilsbarrow then presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That if any delegate as described by the resolution just passed be seated by the International Congress, and our delegation withdraws, it be instructed to issue on the spot and give as wide publicity as possible to a terse statement of our reasons for the step taken.

Seconded and carried.

PURE AND SIMPLE CORRUPTION AS EVIDENCED BY COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

Delegate Pierce was then granted the floor, and introduced the following resolution and made the following remarks:

Delegate PIERCE. I rise to speak with the consent of the Committee on Constitution and for the purpose of having the following matter appear formally upon the minutes of the convention. In three weeks the *Daily People* is to appear. It will bear the S. T. & L. A. label. About the same time pamphlets and leaflets of the Party will also appear, bearing the S. T. & L. A. label. [Applause.] And the biggest gun that will be turned on us at that time will be the biggest nest of fakirs in the country, the International Typographical Union, to which I belong at present. We shall need some ammunition to fight them with, and within the last year and a half one of the most flagrant exhibitions of pure and simple corruption has been resorted to by a local of the International Typographical Union, Columbia Union No. 101, of Washington, D. C., next in numerical strength to "Big Six" in New York. And for the purpose of getting the floor about five minutes I introduce the following resolution:

Whereas, One of the missions of the Socialist Labor Party is the exposure of the rascality of the pure and simple unions of the Samuel Gompers type; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the published proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party there be reproduced a copy

of the note which Columbia Typographical Union of Washington, D. C., presented to those of its members who were employed in the government printing office in the winter of 1898-99, by which means said union raised a fund of approximately \$30,000 to bribe members of Congress to fight for a bill raising the wages of the printers in the government printing office from \$3.20 to \$4 a day.

Seconded.

Delegate PIERCE. Up to about 1875 the wages paid to the printers in the government printing office were \$4 a day. About that time Congress reduced their wages to \$3.20 a day. And at every session of Congress since then Columbia Typographical Union and the American Federation of Labor and all the other pure and simple unions have had delegation after delegation before the committees of Congress trying to get them to pass a bill putting wages back to \$4 a day; and they have uniformly failed. However, two years ago a man from Kansas, a foreman in the government printing office, named Edwin C. Jones, was elected to the presidency of the union. He immediately conceived a scheme of raising a corruption fund to get the so-called \$4-a-day bill through Congress. And in the middle of December, 1898, every member of the union employed in the government printing office was asked to sign this note:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December , 1898.

I, the undersigned, a member of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, of Washington, D. C., and employed in the Government Printing Office, hereby promise to pay to the President of said Union the sum of *twenty-five dollars*, to enable him to pay, satisfy and discharge the contract and agreement made by said President to pay for legal and professional services employed by said President to secure the passage, by Congress, of an Act which shall provide for the restoration of the wages of the Compositors employed in said Government Printing Office to fifty cents an hour; and in case the said increase is to an amount less than fifty cents an hour, then I agree to pay an amount proportionate to the benefit derived by me, based on the compensation of fifty cents an hour. This note to be payable sixty days from the date of the commencement of the operation of any provision in any Act of Congress in which the pay of compositors shall be restored to fifty cents an hour, or increased over the amount now received; or, if an Imposer, Maker-up, or Proofreader, to a consequent increase in the rate of compensation equal to the face of this note in sixty days. This agreement not to be binding on me if I shall not be employed as a Printer in said Government Printing Office when said Act shall take effect, and unless I shall be a beneficiary thereunder for sixty days.

That note was presented to the 750 employees which would be affected by the proposed bill. In the division where I worked there were employed 145 persons, men and women, and all were asked to sign the note. Only two refused: one, a woman, who belonged to the church and declined on that account; the other, a member of the S. L. P., who declined on that account. Altogether they raised anywhere from \$30,000 to \$35,000 in cash. In spite of the fact that the committees to which such a bill would be referred were composed practically of the same members of Congress as before, and in spite of the fact that they had uniformly sat down on the bill before, yet, when Jones went there with \$30,000 in notes in his inside pocket, the committees right-about-faced. They introduced that bill in Congress; it passed the Senate, was referred back to the House, passed the House without a murmur from a single member of Congress, was signed by the President, and

became operative on the first day of July a year ago. The money was to be paid three months after the law became operative, but when the men went to the president of the union to pay the notes, Mr. Jones covered up all traces of the rascality in a clever way; he did not return the notes; he simply tore off the man's signature, handed him that, and kept the notes himself. Now, Mr. Jones having made no report to the union, we have no way of knowing to-day what proportion of the \$30,000 got into the pockets of the members of Congress and what proportion stuck in Mr. Jones' pocket in transit. And I simply bring it up here because this will be one good thing with which to attack the International Typographical Union when they open fire on us on account of the S. T. & L. A., and want to know why we have organized a printers' local of the S. T. & L. A. We have organized it in the first place to illustrate what a *bona fide* labor organization ought to be, and in the second place, to show up the rascality of the officers of the I. T. U. from John L. Kennedy and Bull Pen Steunenberg right straight down the line. [Applause.]

The resolution of Delegate Pierce was thereupon carried.

Delegate EBERLE. In connection with the matter brought up by Comrade Pierce, it might be well for the comrades to know of an incident which happened in Pittsburg. The boys had been talking about an S. T. & L. A. local, been looking around trying to get up a printers' union, but the district sat down on the proposition of organizing the men, through the influence of the boss, just because his business would be increased by having the S. T. & L. A. label. Our bills for printing are pretty heavy in Pittsburg, and we went around to see the different firms to see whether we could get the work done at a lower price than we had been paying—at the same time still looking out for the old pure and simple label. Typographical Union No. 7 is at present on strike in Pittsburg. Some of the comrades here have seen the label which boycotts all the papers in Pittsburg, with the exception of the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, and that label insists that if the working-man does not want to scab he should not buy the papers, but particularly should not buy the *Leader* and *Post*—that is to say, if you want to scab at all, only be half a scab. You are a full scab if you buy those two papers; otherwise, you are only half a scab. We struck one place with only one man and a boy working there. I spoke to the man to find out if we could get the work done cheaper than what we had been getting it done, and asked him in reference to the label. He told me he would look the matter up and see if he could get the label. Some time after I went back to this man and he informed me that he could get the label, that the union was willing to admit him, although he was an employer, only that he had no man working for him, and only employed a boy. On the payment of a week's dues he could get the label, with the provision that they would put him on the list as a man rated at \$16 a week wages, and from that \$16 a week he must pay one per cent. into the union every week as dues; and because there was a strike going on just now, he would be compelled to pay five per cent. dues, which makes 80 cents a week. Now this man turned around to me and very properly said: "Oh, but you people cannot get me enough work to pay for this, and I have got to deposit \$2 for the label, and

after that I must pay 16 cents a week and during the strike I must pay 80 cents a week." These are the words of a man, not speaking from our standpoint, showing that the label is simply rented out to anybody who wants to pay into the coffers of the pure and simple Typographical Union.

The following resolution was then introduced by Delegate Dalton:

Resolved, That this convention calls on the state committees, sections and members to wherever possible hold festivals, picnics, and so forth, on July Fourth and Labor Day in September, for the purpose of raising funds for the *Daily People*, and to do everything in their power to make the *Daily People* a permanent success.

Seconded and carried.

Delegate Borton made a motion that the convention thank the comrades of Section New York for the assistance they had rendered in making this convention a success. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Pierce made a motion that the convention give Delegate Keinard a vote of thanks for his work as secretary and stenographer of the convention. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Kircher made a motion, seconded, that the convention hear an address from Delegate Malloney Carried.

Delegate MALLONEY. Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I do not know that it is necessary to take up any more time of the delegates to this convention in listening to anything that I might be able to say, because for a week, night and day, we have all been blowing our bellows [applause], and I think all the points of the ground have been covered. It certainly cannot be said when this convention adjourns that we have left ourselves in doubt as to the S. T. & L. A., as to the Debserie, or as to that tapeworm that has generally attached itself to our platform. This convention is as much in advance of the convention of 1896 as the convention of 1896 was of the one that preceded it. The S. L. P. has drawn clear and definite lines and can no more be contaminated by that wishy-washy "me-too" Socialism that has been thrown at it in the past. The delegates assembled here have been free of Kangaroolism and they have been free of reform nonsense. They have come and attended this convention as delegates representing the revolutionary, international fighting Socialist Labor Party. They have asked for no palliatives and they have given none. Everything has been clear and straight cut, and when this has been done, I do not believe the words of any individual would have any influence whatever upon this delegation. As Comrade Berry, of Haverhill, says: "When a man's mother-in-law died, several rushed up and said, 'What is the matter?' The man said, 'There is nothing the matter; everybody is satisfied.'" [Laughter.] So I think we are all satisfied. [Laughter.] This convention has made a coffin for pure and simpledom and driven into it a nail that no claw-hammer in the United States will ever draw out. [Applause.] It has made its inscription upon the coffin plate. That coffin is now assigned to its tomb, and there it will be left to decay, without even a man so low as

to do it reverence. And I hope that, when the delegates of this convention return to their respective constituencies, they will bear out the statement that the S. T. & L. A. is the only economic organization in the United States worthy of the consideration of honest men, and that the Socialist Labor Party of the United States is the first and foremost of all the civilized world; that the *Daily People* is an assured fact, that it will herald the news from one end of the land to the other and give inspiration and hope and backbone to the proletariat that has been neglected and despised in the past; that there they can find at all times encouragement, that there they can find their fortification, that there they can find that the last of all slave classes has at last a resting place and has at last a battery, a fortification that is going to stand until the pedestal of capitalism has been thrown into the lumber yard and written down in the black pages of history. [Applause.]

A motion of thanks was then passed by the convention to Sergeant-at-arms Kelly (of Section New York) for his services during the convention.

ADJOURNMENT.

A motion was then made and seconded to adjourn sine die.

Chairman CARLESS. I omitted to do what all other chairmen of this convention have done before me, the making of remarks this morning. I want to say to the delegates—you will not have to listen to me more than two or three minutes. I simply want to ask the delegates to bear in mind the work that is before us. I am satisfied they all do it. I am satisfied that the Socialist Labor Party to-day is made up of such material and it will add to itself such material that it will be unnecessary for us, for the working class, when we are on the verge of victory, to conquer the king to behead that king. I believe that the proletariat of this great nation will have such confidence in its rights, such determination to enforce them, that the most that will be necessary will be to lay hold of the most cantankerous capitalist, and with this mallet that knocked out the Kangaroos on July 10 let our National Secretary use that to knock the head of that cantankerous capitalist. I believe that the movement is such that the solution of this great problem of the Co-operative Commonwealth will be ushered in in a peaceful manner; and I believe also that the young men who are here at this convention will live to see that Co-operative Commonwealth introduced in that manner. [Applause.] With these few words, I now ask that the members vote upon the motion that we adjourn, sine die.

The convention then adjourned sine die, with three cheers each for the S. L. P.; the S. T. & L. A.; for Presidential Candidate Malloney; for Vice-Presidential Rimmel; for Daniel De Leon, editor of *The People*; for Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, and Lucien Sanial, the "Father of the Socialist Labor Party."

List of the Delegates Admitted to the Tenth National Convention.

The Congressional District was the basis of representation in the Tenth National Convention. In the following table, which has been compiled from the reports of the Committee on Credentials, the list of delegates is arranged by States.

CALIFORNIA.

Name of Delegate.	Congressional District.
H. J. Schade	Tenth Congressional District

CONNECTICUT.

S. G. Harrison	First Congressional District
Michael Bomstead	Second " "
Adam Marx	Third " "
George Rose	Fourth " "

ILLINOIS.

Paul Kretlow	First to Eighth Congressional Districts
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INDIANA.

Hugh Richards	Seventh Congressional District
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KENTUCKY.

Albert Schmutz	Fifth " "
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MARYLAND.

Robert W. Stevens	Third " "
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MASSACHUSETTS.

Dennis Carney	First " "
Robert McKeown	" " "
James T. Noonan	Second " "
Joseph V. Schugel	Fifth " "
Louis Wolfson	Sixth " "
Joseph F. Malloney	Seventh " "
Herman W. A. Raasch	Eighth " "
James H. Jenness	Ninth " "
Henry C. Hess	Tenth " "
Jeremiah O'Fihelly	Twelfth " "
John Sweeney	Thirteenth " "

MICHIGAN.

Melko Meyer	First to Third Congressional Districts
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MINNESOTA.

George F. Spettel	Fourth Congressional District
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MISSOURI.

William Billsbarrow	Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth Congressional Districts
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NEW JERSEY.

Jens Lyngard	Third Congressional District
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William Glanz	Fifth	Congressional	District
Frank W. Wilson	Sixth	"	"
Harry Carless	"	"	"
John J. Connelly	Seventh	"	"
Arthur Mende	"	"	"
Michael McGarry	Eighth	"	"

NEW YORK.

Christian Bakke	First	"	"
John H. Moore	Seventh	"	"
Herman Simpson	Eighth to Fifteenth	Congressional	Districts
Charles G. Teche	" " "	"	"
Patrick Murphy	" " "	"	"
John J. Kinneally	" " "	"	"
Rudolph Katz	" " "	"	"
Daniel De Leon	" " "	"	"
Lucien Sanial	" " "	"	"
Max Forker	" " "	"	"
Christian Petersen	" " "	"	"
Alvin S. Brown	" " "	"	"
Arthur Keep	" " "	"	"
Benjamin F. Keinard	" " "	"	"
Thomas A. Hickey	" " "	"	"
Hugo Vogt	" " "	"	"
Julian Pierce	" " "	"	"
Joseph H. Sweeny	Sixteenth	"	"
Charles Zolot	"	"	"
Edward Gidley	Seventeenth	"	"
Lawrence A. Boland	Nineteenth	"	"
Jacob Alexander	Twentieth	"	"
Everett L. Lake	Twenty-first	"	"
F. B. Stowe	Twenty-second	"	"
Emil Nuessle	Twenty-fifth	"	"
Thomas Crimmins	Twenty-seventh	"	"
Patrick Walsh	"	"	"
C. W. House	Twenty-eighth	"	"
C. A. Luedecke	Thirty-first	"	"
Boris Reinstein	Thirty-second to Thirty-third	Congressional	Districts
William D. Stewart, "	"	"	"

OHIO.

Samuel Borton	Eighteenth	Congressional	District
James Matthews	Twenty and Twenty-first	Congressional	Districts
Paul Dinger	" " "	"	"
John Kircher	" " "	"	"

PENNSYLVANIA.

Leonard Fish	First to Sixth	Congressional	Districts
D. C. Wismer	Seventh	Congressional	District
Peter Herriger	Ninth	"	"
John H. Gray	Eleventh	"	"
D. L. Munro	Twentieth	"	"
William H. Thomas	Twenty-first	"	"
Charles Rupp	Twenty-second	"	"
William J. Eberle	Twenty-third	"	"
Thomas Lawry	Twenty-fourth	"	"
C. H. Jacobson	Twenty-seventh	"	"
Arthur Vardy	Twenty-eighth	"	"

RHODE ISLAND.

Thomas Curran	First	Congressional	District
Charles Kroll	"	"	"
James P. Reid	Second	"	"
Thomas F. Reilly	"	"	"

WASHINGTON.

W. S. Dalton	Congressional	District-at-Large
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WISCONSIN.

Carl Minkley.....Fourth and Fifth Congressional Districts

VIRGINIA.

Hugh C. MacTier.....Third Congressional District

Alternate Delegates.

CONNECTICUT.

Ernest T. Oatley.....Second Congressional District
James F. Parker.....Fourth " "

MISSOURI.

E. C. Dickman.....Twelfth Congressional District

NEW YORK.

John OpelFirst Congressional District
S. Schulberg.....Eighth to Fifteenth Congressional Districts
J. Hammer " " " " "
E. Siff " " " " "
S. D. Cooper " " " " "
Justus Ebert " " " " "
Joseph Wright " " " " "
D. Rondani " " " " "
H. Eckstein..... " " " " "
C. E. Crawford..... " " " " "
George B. Cook..... " " " " "
J. Seidel..... " " " " "
H. F. Doelman..... " " " " "
J. Levitch..... " " " " "
P. Malorana " " " " "
Robert Johnson.....Nineteenth Congressional District

PENNSYLVANIA.

J. S. Dreher.....Eleventh Congressional District
C. A. DanielsonTwentieth " "
William AdamsTwenty-second " "
William I. Marshall.....Twenty-third " "
E. A. Hepting.....Twenty-fourth " "

Financial Statement of the National Executive Committee Submitted to the Tenth National Convention.

The constitution of the Socialist Labor Party requires the National Executive Committee to submit semi-annual statements of the Party's finances. In the following tables these semi-annual statements are grouped, so that the income and expenditures for each six months of the four years since the 1896 convention may be compared.

Receipts of the National Executive Committee by half-years from June 27th, 1896, to May 19th, 1900.

	From June 27, 1896, to Dec. 26, 1896.	From Dec. 26, 1896, to June 26, 1897.	From June 26, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1898.	From Jan. 1, 1898, to July 2, 1898.	From July 2, 1898, to Jan. 2, 1899.	From Jan. 2, 1899, to July 1, 1899.	From July 1, 1899, to Dec. 31, 1899.	From Dec. 31, 1899, to May 19, 1900.
Dues	\$1,320 70	\$1,696 75	\$1,442 20	\$1,745 50	\$1,707 05	\$2,284 20	\$1,295 65	\$983 80
Agitation	33 35	28 90	349 85	160 88	307 03	348 33	333 88	39 10
Charter fees .....	.....	.....	.....	1 00	36 50	27 50	20 00	10 50
London Congress As- sessment	109 10	87 40	73 35	58 80	.....	.....	.....	.....
Socialist Almanac .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100 00	300 00	175 80	110 72
Supplies	274 64	110 43	99 94	85 98	78 01	126 22	71 91	40 91
Dissolved Sections .....	.....	5 77	128 80	25 05	3 83	7 42	.....	.....
Loans .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	500 00	5 00	.....
Campaign Fund	1,965 62	111 52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sundries	40 00	.....	10 51	21 35	11 60	.....	14 62	5 70
Totals	\$8,743 41	\$1,988 77	\$2,104 65	\$2,098 06	\$2,244 02	\$3,588 67	\$1,916 81	\$1,090 23

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

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Expenditures of the National Executive Committee by half-years from June 27th, 1896, to May 19th, 1900.

	From June 27, 1896, to Dec. 26, 1896.	From Dec. 26, 1896, to June 27, 1897.	From June 27, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1898.	From Jan. 1, 1898, to July 2, 1898.	From July 2, 1898, to Jan. 2, 1899.	From Jan. 2, 1899, to July 1, 1899.	From July 1, 1899, to Dec. 31, 1899.	From Dec. 31, 1899, to May 19, 1900.
Salary of National Secretary.....	\$390 00	\$390 00	\$405 00	\$390 00	\$436 00	\$468 00	\$468 00	\$360 00
Current Expenses.....	132 65	80 32	98 47	99 19	95 48	107 88	167 29	79 26
Rent.....	45 00	75 00	105 00	60 00	150 00	90 00	82 50	75 00
Agitation.....	1,949 74	861 39	1,621 51	1,280 43	986 00	1,442 98	1,435 11	176 65
Printing.....	702 42	236 10	107 00	228 39	137 00	163 00	219 75	209 50
Party Papers.....	10 00	185 00	75 00	60 00				
National Convention.....	100 30							
S. T. & L. A. Convention.....								
London Congress.....	300 00				53 52			
Editorial Work.....		17 00	57 80	181 25	314 70	1,101 64	25 00	
Loans.....	65 00					6 00	175 00	
Board of Appeals.....	5 25							
Office Fixtures and Expenses.....	377 62	84 13	2 50	12 50	1 75	18 15	2 90	11 17
Sundries.....	94 00	2 05			3 75			81 88
Totals.....	\$4,172 01	\$1,990 99	\$2,472 28	\$2,256 76	\$2,158 20	\$3,397 65	\$2,575 55	\$942 96

Recapitulation of Receipts and Expenditures of the National Executive Committee.

RECEIPTS—JUNE 27, 1896, TO MAY 19, 1900.

Balance on hand June 27, 1896.....		\$999 68
Dues	\$12,375 85	
Agitation	1,593 27	
Charter fees	95 50	
Dissolved Sections	170 87	
Supplies	888 04	
Socialist Almanac	686 52	
London Congress Assessment.....	278 65	
Loans	505 00	
Campaign Fund	2,077 14	
Sundries	103 78	
		\$18,774 12
Total		\$19,773 80

EXPENDITURES—JUNE 27, 1896, TO MAY 19, 1900.

Salary of National Secretary.....	\$3,297 00	
Current expenses	860 54	
Rent	682 50	
Agitation	9,753 81	
Printing	1,988 19	
Party papers	330 00	
National Convention	100 30	
S. T. & L. A. Convention.....	53 52	
London Congress	300 00	
Editorial work	1,647 39	
Loans	240 00	
Board of Appeals.....	11 25	
Office fixtures and expenses.....	510 72	
Sundries	131 18	
		\$19,906 40
Total		\$19,906 40
Total expenditures	\$19,906 40	
Total receipts		19,773 80
Deficit, May 19, 1900.....		\$132 60

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ADOPTED AT THE 1896 CONVENTION.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instru-

ments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to

be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ADOPTED AT THE 1900 CONVENTION.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the

direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ADOPTED AT THE 1896 CONVENTION.

ARTICLE I—MANAGEMENT.

The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Executive Committee, the National Board of Appeals, the State Committees, the local Sections, the National Conventions, and by the general vote. At all elections a plurality vote is sufficient to elect; but an absolute majority is required to elect the seat of the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE II—SECTIONS.

1. Ten persons may form a section, provided they acknowledge the platform, constitution and resolutions of the Socialist Labor Party and belong to no other political party.

a. They shall report their organization as a section both to the National Executive Committee and to the state committee, giving a list of members, and send the dues for the current month to the state committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

b. Each section shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, to the National Executive Committee; and shall report to the state committee at least once a year the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise.

2. The section shall be the unit of organization.

3. It shall be the duty of the sections to provide rules governing their action, provided such do not conflict with the rules of the national and state organizations.

4. At every meeting a new chairman shall be elected, who shall observe the usual parliamentary rules.

5. Every section shall elect from its members an organizer and such additional officers as it deems proper. The organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the National Executive Committee, and shall send an official report once every six months to said Committee; he shall send ten cents of the monthly dues of each member to the state committee, or in the absence of such to the National Executive Committee; he shall conduct the local organization and agitation.

6. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a section of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

7. Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

8. Every section shall elect a grievance committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the section, and report its decision. Sections having a central committee may refer such investigations to such committee.

9. Charges against members shall not be debated until the grievance committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the section. All charges must be made in writing, whereupon the committee shall investigate the case and hear the witnesses of both parties. A detailed report of the investigation shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the section. The section shall then decide the matter, and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the secretary for safe keeping. The secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

All decisions of the section may be appealed from to the national board of appeals.

10. A majority of two-thirds of the members present at any business meeting shall be sufficient to expel any member; a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend.

11. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party by any branch, or section, or by any city, state, or national committee unless the bar of expulsion or suspension has been removed by the section expelling or suspending him, or by the national board of appeals.

12. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

13. In any section which is divided into two or more branches, all local business of the section and dealings with the Party's national and state management shall be carried on by a central committee.

14. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

15. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

16. The result of every election within the section must be communicated at once to the National Executive Committee and to the state committee.

17. In case of dissolution of any section, all property of the same must be delivered to the National Executive Committee.

18. No section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party.

ARTICLE III—STATE ORGANIZATION.

1. Whenever there are three sections in any one State, in three different towns, they shall form a state organization, to be known as the state committee. It shall be the duty of such state committee to conduct systematic agitation within its jurisdiction and form new sections.

2. Every section connected with a state committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

3. The state committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee, and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

4. In the election of a state committee and its recall, the same rules shall hold good that govern the National Executive Committee.

5. The state organizations shall have power to make regulations governing their form of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective States, provided such regulations do not conflict with the Party's national constitution and platform.

ARTICLE IV—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by a general vote of the section or sections of the place selected as the seat of the same. The committee shall elect from its members a recording secretary and a treasurer.

The said section or sections shall elect the National Secretary, who shall also act as secretary for foreign affairs. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee, but with an advisory voice only.

It is the right and duty of the said section or sections to suspend any member of the National Executive Committee, including the National Secretary, who may be guilty of any neglect of duty; to elect a temporary successor in place of such suspended member, and to submit such action with the reasons therefor to a general vote of the Party.

The said section or sections shall also elect an auditing committee, which shall have power at any time to inspect and audit the books and the funds on hand.

2. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected for the term of one year, but may be reelected at the expiration thereof.

3. The National Executive Committee has for its duty:

- a. To carry out the resolutions of the national convention and those adopted by general vote.
- b. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.
- c. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.
- d. To make all necessary preparations for the national convention, and make a full report to such convention on all Party matters.
- e. To issue to the sections semi-annually and in a sufficient number of copies, a report of the Party's finances.

4. It is also the duty of the National Executive Committee:

- a. To receive and submit to a general vote propositions sent from any section if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different states. If in the opinion of the National Executive Committee a proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote, unless five per cent. of all the sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it; then the proposition shall be submitted to a general vote.
- b. To be represented in the national convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.
- c. The National Executive Committee may make its own order of business.
- d. The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers, according to the labors performed by them, from the treasury of the Party.

5. Annually, and in due time, the National Executive Committee shall call upon the sections to make nominations for not more than three delegates to represent the Party in the annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The nominees shall be chosen by a general or referendum vote, and the ones receiving the highest vote shall be declared elected.

6. The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to the sections bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the S. L. P., and also of the duties required from the applicant for membership.

ARTICLE V—NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS.

1. The national board of appeals shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by a general vote of the membership of the city selected by the national convention as the seat of such board. No member of such board shall be eligible to any office in the Party during his or her term of office; nor shall the seat of the board be the same as that of the National Executive Committee.

2. The duties of this board shall be:

a. To settle, upon appeal, all difficulties in the Party within four weeks after receiving the necessary evidence, the decisions to be at once communicated to the National Executive Committee; and to decide appeals in cases of expulsion and of suspension.

b. From all decisions of the board, appeal may be taken to the general vote, or to the national convention provided a convention is to be held within six months. The sections must report the result of their vote to the National Executive Committee within six weeks; within two additional weeks the National Executive Committee must publish the result.

c. The secretary of the board of appeals shall render to the national convention a full report of the transactions of the board during its term of office.

d. The board shall declare vacant the seat of any of its members who shall have been absent from three consecutive meetings without sufficient excuse, and order the membership of its locality to fill the vacancy.

3. The secretary of the board may, or upon the demand of a majority of the members thereof, shall, call a session.

4. The members making a decision shall sign the same before transmittal to the National Executive Committee.

5. Duplicates of decisions and dissenting opinions shall be filed with the secretary of the board before transmittal to the National Executive Committee.

6. No person connected with a case shall be qualified to sit on it. If the issue is one in which the whole section is interested and such section happens to be the one that chooses the board, then the National Executive Committee shall appoint another section to choose a board of appeals for that case.

ARTICLE VI—CONVENTIONS.

1. A national convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or Presidential year; but if five sections in three different States so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention.

A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

2. The congressional district shall be the basis of representation.

A section shall be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in the congressional district or districts under its jurisdiction, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction thereof.

Sections whose congressional district or districts poll a smaller vote than one thousand shall be entitled to one delegate.

Where several sections have jurisdiction of one or more congressional districts, they shall jointly elect the delegates to which they are entitled.

Delegates must be members of the section or of one of the sections electing them.

Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the sections sending them. The expenses of the national convention shall be paid by the Party.

4. The national convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seats of the National Executive Committee and board of appeals and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party.

5. All acts of the convention shall be submitted to the sections for general vote.

ARTICLE VII—DUES.

1. The sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the state committee or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the state committees at the rate of five cents each, and in the absence of such to the sections at the rate of ten cents each.

3. Every state committee or section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, as well as secretaries of state committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

VIII—THE PARTY PRESS.

1. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of the Party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

2. The editors shall be appointed by the National Executive Committee from such comrades as shall be recommended for appointment by the national convention. They cannot be members of the Committee.

3. The National Executive Committee shall give notice of discharge at least two weeks before the same is to take effect; the editors shall

also be bound to give two weeks' notice of their intention to leave their position.

4. Any of the editors who may prove incompetent or violate the platform or constitution of the Party shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This constitution may be amended by the national convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any section to any proposition so laid before the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported to the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each section.

2. No section or subdivision shall be designated by race or nationality.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the Party shall be subject to removal by their constituents (see Article IV, Section 1, as to the National Executive Committee.)

4. No applicant shall be admitted* to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle to him and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

5. In subscribing to the platform and constitution, the members take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability, in case of need.

6. A member of in good standing of one section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another section, but shall not be allowed to vote.

7. The National Executive Committee shall immediately after the expulsion of any member publish the name of the expelled in the Party organs.

8. No person shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office unless he has been a member of the Party for at least one year, and has identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work.

9. No candidate of this Party for any public office shall be permitted to accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party.

10. Any member of the Socialist Labor Party accepting a nomination of the Party, shall at once place in the hands of the secretary of the section of which he is a member, his resignation, dated blank, of the office for which he is so nominated, and authorize the section to have it filed with the proper authorities in case of his election and failure to stand squarely on the Party's platform and to advocate its principles.

11. All former provisions conflicting with this constitution are rescinded.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, We recognize the necessity of carrying on the war against capitalism simultaneously on the political and economic fields, therefore be it

Resolved, That we recommend to all Socialists to join the organizations of the trades to which they respectively belong.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ADOPTED AT THE 1900 CONVENTION.

ARTICLE I.—MANAGEMENT.

Section 1. The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Executive Committee, the national secretary, the state organizations, the local organizations, the sections, the national conventions and the general vote.

ARTICLE II.—SECTIONS.

Section 1. Ten persons may form a section, provided they acknowledge the platform, constitution and resolutions of the Party and belong to no other political party; but not more than one charter shall be granted in any city or town.

- a. They shall report their organization as a section, with a list of of the members and the dues for the current month, to the state executive committee.
- b. Each section shall send every six months to the National and state executive committee a report of its numerical and financial condition; and shall report to the state executive committee at least once a year the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise.

Section 2. The section shall be the unit of organization.

Section 3. At every meeting a new chairman shall be elected, who shall observe the usual parliamentary rules.

Section 4. Every section shall elect from its members an organizer, and such additional officers as it deems proper. The organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the National and state executive committees, and shall send an official report once every six months to each of the said committees; and he shall send twelve cents of the monthly dues of each member to the state executive committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee: he shall conduct the local organization and agitation.

Section 5. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a section of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

Section 6. No officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization shall be a member of a section.

Section 7. Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

Section 8. Every section shall elect a grievance committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the section, and report its decision.

Section 9. Charges against members shall not be debated until the grievance committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the section. All charges must be made in writing, whereupon the committee shall investigate the case and hear the witnesses of both parties. A detailed report of the investigation shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the section. The section shall then decide the matter, and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the secretary for safe keeping. The secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

Section 10. All decisions of the section may be appealed from within three months to the state executive committee. Decisions of the state executive committee may be appealed from within one month to a general vote of the sections in the State, or to a state convention, and the decision then reached, and all decisions of the National Executive Committee in individual grievances, where no state executive committee exists, shall be final.

Section 11. A majority of two-thirds of the members present at any business meeting shall be sufficient to expel any member; a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend for a definite period. Expulsions and suspensions shall be reported at once to the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated.

Section 13. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

Section 14. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be and are thereby suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

Section 15. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues, but the fact must be noted each month upon their cards.

Section 16. The result of every election within the section must be communicated at once to the National and state executive committee.

Section 17. In case of the dissolution, suspension or expulsion of any section, all property of the same must be delivered to the state executive committee.

Section 18. No section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party. No candidate of the Party for any public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party, nor allow any such nomination or endorsement to stand without a public protest; otherwise his nomination must be at once withdrawn.

Section 19. Members-at-large shall be subject to the supervision of the state executive committee in the same manner as a member to a section.

Section 20. No member, committee or section of the Party shall

support any political publication other than Party organs by donations of money or procuring subscribers for the same.

ARTICLE III—STATE ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. When in any State there are three sections in three different towns or cities, they shall form a state organization to be known as the state executive committee. It shall be the duty of such committee to conduct systematic agitation within its jurisdiction, form new sections, and provide the blanks required for the resignation of candidates for public office.

Section 2. Every section connected with such committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

Section 3. The committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee, and submit to it monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

Section 4. In a state having a legal state organization under laws permitting non-members of the Party to elect the same, the state executive committee shall prepare a set of rules for the government of of such organization, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization, and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

ARTICLE IV—LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. When in any city or town a section is subdivided into branches, it shall form a city or town organization, to be known as the general committee, and all local business and all dealings with the Party's National and the state executive committee shall be carried on by such committee. When the general local government embraces a locality greater or smaller than a town or city the same rule shall apply.

Section 2. Such committee shall alone exercise the powers delegated to sections under Article II, as far as concerns the admission, expulsion and suspension of members, and from all decisions of the committee in such matters appeal may be taken within one month to a general vote of the section under its jurisdiction. The committee shall consider no application for admission to membership unless the same has been accepted by a branch under its jurisdiction.

Section 3. In a city, town or other locality having a legal organization under laws permitting non-members to elect the same, the general committee, and, in the absence of such, the section, shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization, subject to the approval of the National and the state executive committees, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization, and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

ARTICLE V—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall consist of seven members, the seat of the Committee to nominate from its members fourteen candidates within four weeks after the general vote on the

acts of the national convention. The National Executive Committee shall submit the nominations to a general vote of the whole Party, arranging them in numerical order beginning with the candidate receiving the highest number of votes upon nomination and stating opposite each name the number of votes so received. The seven candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall organize as the Committee within two weeks after the announcement of the result of the general vote and shall hold office until the next national convention or until their successors may be chosen.

Section 2. Vacancies in the Committee shall be filled as follows: The seat of the Committee shall nominate twice as many candidates as there are vacancies, the election to be by a general vote of the whole Party in the manner provided under the preceding section.

Section 3. Every candidate, before his name is submitted to a general vote of the whole Party, shall sign a pledge to support the Party, its principles, declared resolutions and tactics, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary.

Section 4. The Committee, or any member thereof, may be removed by a general vote of the whole Party on the motion of five state executive committees, the movers to accompany their motion with written charges to be inserted in the call for the general vote together with the answer of the Committee or the member so charged. The seat of the Committee shall designate a state executive committee, not a party to the proceedings, to receive the general vote and canvass and announce the result.

Section 5. In the case of the resignation of the whole or a majority of the Committee the seat of the Committee shall fill the vacancies temporarily through their general committee and at once proceed to fill the vacancies permanently as provided under Section 2 of this article.

Section 6. The Committee shall elect from its members a recording secretary and a treasurer.

Section 7. The National Executive Committee has for its duty:

- a. To carry out the resolutions of the national convention and those adopted by general vote.
- b. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.
- c. To render final decision in all appeals made to it where no state organization exists.
- d. To expel, or suspend and reorganize, any state executive committee or section guilty of disloyalty.
- e. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.
- f. To make all necessary preparations for the national convention, and make a full report to such convention on all Party matters.
- g. To issue semi-annually, and in sufficient number, copies of a report of the Party's finances.
- h. To submit propositions to a general vote. A proposition sent from any section if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different States, shall be submitted to a general vote; but if in the opinion of the Committee the proposition is

not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless five per cent. of all the sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it.

- f. To be represented at the national convention by the National Secretary, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice, and shall bear no other credentials.
- g. To annually and in due time call upon the sections to make nominations for not more than three delegates to represent the Party in the annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the delegates to be elected from the nominees by a general vote.
- h. To issue application cards bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the Party and the duties required from the applicant.
- i. To publish in the official Party organ all expulsions and suspensions reported and all its decisions on appeals.

Section 8. The Committee may make its own order of business, and may compensate its officers from the Party treasury according to the labors performed.

Section 9. No editor of a Party publication, and no permanent, salaried employee of the Committee, excepting its own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 2. His term of office shall be the same as that of the National Executive Committee, and he shall sign a pledge similar to the one required of the candidates for the National Executive Committee.

Section 3. The procedure in removing the National Secretary from office and in case of a vacancy in his position shall be the same as that provided for the National Executive Committee under Article V, Sections 4 and 5.

Section 4. He shall be the financial secretary of the Party, and shall act as secretary for foreign affairs. He shall not be a member of the National Executive Committee, but shall have an advisory voice in all its proceedings.

ARTICLE VII—NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Section 1. A national convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or presidential year; but if five sections in three different States so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Section 2. The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast at the state election preceding the national convention and to one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any State having one or more sections and polling less than one thousand votes, or polling no votes at all, shall be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State.

Section 3. The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention in January of the convention year, and the state executive committee in transmitting the call to the sections shall call for nominations for delegates, the nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the sections with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for.

Section 4. Delegates shall be members in good standing of the Party for one year and citizens of the United States, but a State unable to comply with this provision may dispense with the same as far as may be necessary, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Each delegate shall have but one vote.

Section 5. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States sending them, but the National Executive Committee shall set aside two cents of the moneys received for every due stamp sold to be used as a mileage fund, each State to be paid from said fund for the railroad fare of its delegates upon the basis of an equal percentage for every delegate attending the convention.

Section 6. The national organization of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance may be represented in the national convention by three fraternal delegates, who must have the qualifications of regular delegates of the Party.

Section 7. The national convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seat of the National Executive Committee, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party. A majority vote shall be necessary in selecting the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Section 8. All acts of the national convention shall be submitted to the sections for approval by a general vote.

ARTICLE VIII—DUES.

Section 1. The sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of twelve cents, to be paid monthly to the state committee.

Section 2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the state executive committees at the rate of seven cents each, and in the absence of such to the sections at the rate of twelve cents each.

Section 3. Every state executive committee or section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of the membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well as secretaries of state executive committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

ARTICLE IX—THE PARTY PRESS.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of all Party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

Section 2. The editor of every official Party organ shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 3. The procedure in removing the editor of an official Party

organ and in case of a vacancy in his position shall be the same as that provided for the National Executive Committee under Article V, Sections 4 and 5, but any such editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal shall be at once suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Section 4. The election of editors of other publications recognized as Party organs, but not official, shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall demand from the publishers the immediate removal of an editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal, and in case of non-compliance with this demand, the National Executive Committee shall at once repudiate the publication.

Section 5. No member, committee, or section of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested as far as practicable in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

ARTICLE X—OFFICIAL PARTY ORGANS.

Section 1. The *Daily People* and the *Weekly People* shall be official Party organs.

Section 2. The management of official Party organs shall be administered by a board of trustees consisting of three Party members, who shall be elected by the national convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 3. The procedure in removing or suspending the board or any member thereof, and in case of a vacancy in the board in whole or in part, shall be the same as that provided for the editor of an official Party organ under Article IX, Section 3.

Section 4. The board shall hold the property of the official Party organs in trust subject to the constitution and resolutions of the Party affecting their management.

ARTICLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by the national convention or by general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, except that required for approving the acts of a national convention, amendments may be proposed by any section to any proposition so laid before the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported to the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

The National Secretary shall forthwith transmit to the sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each section.

Section 2. All officers and committees of a section, or of state and local organizations, shall be subject to removal by their constituents upon charges duly made and tried.

Section 3. No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle

to him, and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

Section 4. In subscribing to the platform and constitution, the members take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability, in case of need.

Section 5. A member in good standing of one section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another section or branch of a section, but shall not be allowed to vote.

Section 6. No person shall participate in hearing or deciding an appeal who is a party to the proceedings.

Section 7. No person who has not been a member of the Party for at least one year, and who has not identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work, shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office without the specific approval of the state executive committee.

Section 8. On accepting a nomination of the Party for a public office, the candidate shall at once give the section in charge a signed resignation, dated blank, of the office for which he is so nominated, and shall assent in writing to its being filed with the proper authorities if, in case of election, he proves disloyal to the Party, such resignation and assent, immediately upon execution, to be turned over to the state executive committee.

Section 9. At all elections and in all voting, unless otherwise provided, a plurality vote is sufficient to decide.

Section 10. The seat of the National Executive Committee shall elect an auditing committee which may at any time inspect and audit the books of the committees, officers and agencies of the Party and its national organization.

Section 11. Sections and local and state organizations may make rules for their action, but such must not conflict with any rules duly provided for their formation and procedure nor with any rules of the state or national organization, all rules of the sections and local organizations to be approved by their respective state executive committees; and all rules of state organizations to be approved by the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. The functions of a state executive committee under the constitution and regulations of the Party shall be exercised by the National Executive Committee where no state executive committee exists.

Section 13. All former provisions conflicting with this constitution are rescinded.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE "KANGAROO" CON-
SPIRACY TO WRECK THE SOCIALIST
LABOR PARTY.

The appended documents will be interesting collateral reading to the Report of the National Executive Committee. They are eight in number, and should be read in the following order:

1. "Sign-Posts That Will Have To Guide the Party for the Safe-Keeping of a Daily People."
2. "The Situation in New York City—Statement by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, to the Party Membership and to Voters of the S. L. P. Throughout the Land."
3. "To All Sections and Party Members—Call for a General Vote by the National Executive Committee."
4. "Three Cheers For the S. L. P.!"
5. "Ten Years Later."
6. "General Vote Ordered By the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P."
7. "Chronological Recapitulation of the Main Incidents of the Party's Conflict With the Volkszeitung."
8. "Call For A General Vote."

The three calls for a general vote and "The Situation in New York City" are official documents issued by the National Executive Committee. The four other documents appeared originally in *The People*, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

Each document dovetails into the one that follows it. Taken together they contain many details of the conspiracy that were necessarily omitted from the Report of the National Executive Committee.

SIGN-POSTS THAT WILL HAVE TO GUIDE THE PARTY FOR THE SAFE-KEEPING OF A DAILY PEOPLE.

[Originally published in *The People* on April 2, 1899.]

As the *Daily People* is casting its shadows before it, the practical question of the nature of the organization that, due to technical and legal exigencies, will have to be framed for its direct management is looming up into importance. In the deciding of what the nature of that organization shall have to be the Party may pick its way by the light of the experience that it is just now making with the organization that is publishing the *Volkszeitung*.

The readers of *The People* will remember the three successive articles on the *Volkszeitung* in our issues of last December 25, January 1, and January 8. In the first two, the paper was called to account for its surreptitious and shy-cock attacks upon the Party policy, and, in the third, notice was made of the runaway answer it gave upon these, and of the unanimous censure passed upon its editor by the paper's board of directors, all but one being present at that meeting.

An attitude hostile to the S. L. P. was nothing new on the part of the *Volkszeitung*. It is now only about four years ago when it perpetrated a series of articles upon the proposed so-called "Plank 10" of the A. F. of L., holding a position in those articles that, apart from their general politico-economic unsoundness, hinted quite clearly at the advisability of the organization of a new "Labor" party, and supported its arguments by repeating certain slanders against Comrade Sanial that at the time were in vogue among the fakirs. Both *The People* and the Party's German organ promptly attacked the *Volkszeitung*. The matter—whether taken thither by the editor of the *Volkszeitung* himself or someone else, we do not now recall—came before the old Section New York, with the result that the editor of the *Volkszeitung* was censured and its board of directors was requested "to see to it that the paper's columns be not used as a telephone for the malice of the fakirs against Party members." The matter ended there.

This time, the editor of the *Volkszeitung* brought up the matter of the differences between *The People* and the *Volkszeitung*, together with the censure passed upon him, before the *Volkszeitung* Publishing

Association (officially known as the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association), and, after a protracted debate, the Association, by a vote of 62 against 28, rejected at its meeting of the 23rd of last month the action of the board of directors both with regard to the censure and their authorizing of its publication in *The People*.

When it is considered that the constitution of the Association expressly prescribes that its publications shall be edited *in accord with the principles and tactics of the S. L. P.*, the decision that the Association arrived at on the 23rd, thus flying in the face of its own constitution, would be in itself suggestive enough; contrasted with the conduct of the Association in the instance of four years ago, afore mentioned, when, by its silence, approval was implied, its present attitude becomes still more interesting to watch. The details of the last occurrence throw such a light upon the matter that they raise it to one of still greater interest; revealing a situation that is full of suggestions upon some of the rocks that the Party will have to steer clear of for the safety of its oncoming English daily.

During the debate, with hardly an exception, those who supported the editor of the *Volkszeitung* cheered the conduct that he was censured for on the ground that it was proper to attack the Party policy. Again and again the statement was made by his supporters that "we must emancipate ourselves from the Party"; again and again they declared that "it is time to resist the Party policy"; again and again was the Party's policy, not on the trades union question only, but on a score of other questions, roundly denounced and the conduct of the *Volkszeitung* in the matter at hand hailed as the turning over of a new leaf. Tolerance for anarchists was demanded [Hernstein]; the Party was ridiculed [Heinrich]; its membership and thereby itself was belittled, and the general committee of Section Greater New York was pronounced hopeless and even corrupted [H. Stahl]; a rupture between the Party and the *Volkszeitung* was declared to threaten no harm to the paper [A. Jonas]; the Party's attitude towards Debsism was called "mud-slinging" [Köln]; and, as a matter of course *The People* came in for a full share of abuse, although most of its assailants do not and cannot read it, and none knows enough English to judge. And these statements received, one after another, generous applause.

Here was a palpable annulling of the Association's constitution, and of rebellion against the Party. But palpable as the fact was, an incident removed all doubt that might linger on the subject. Here and there, during the debate, the less heated felt constrained to cover up the cloven hoof of their attitude; they sought to cloak it up with the claim that the *Volkszeitung* articles in question "were not attacks upon the Party policy, and, consequently, were not a violation of the Association's constitution, but were merely the exercise of the just right of criticism." The veil was transparently thin, and was, in many an unguarded moment, torn through by the very ones who sought its protection. Nevertheless, seeing the argument was made its sincerity was brought to a test, Comrade Hugo Vogt offered the following resolution;

Whereas, The "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association" was established by the Socialist Labor Party for no other purpose than to gain supporters for the Party through press publication; and that, in accord with this purpose, it is expressly prescribed by the constitution of the Association that the publications which it issues shall be edited in accord with the principles and the tactics of the S. L. P.;

Whereas, The tactics of the Party on the subject of the trades union movement have been unequivocally defined in the following resolution of the National Party Convention, held in New York in 1896:

"Whereas, These bodies have taken shape as the buffers for capitalism, them, have fallen hopelessly into the hands of dishonest and ignorant leaders;

"Whereas, These bodies have taken shape as the buffers of capitalism, against whom every intelligent effort of the working class for emancipation has hitherto gone to pieces;

"Whereas, The policy of 'propitiating' the leaders of these organizations has been tried long enough by the progressive movement, and is to a great extent responsible for the power which these leaders have wielded in the protection of capitalism, and the selling out of the workers;

"Whereas, No organization of labor can accomplish anything for the workers that does not proceed from the principle that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist and the working class—a conflict that can be settled only by the total overthrow of the former and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth; and,

"Whereas, This conflict is essentially a political one, needing the combined political and economic efforts of the working class; therefore, be it.

"Resolved, That we hail with unqualified joy the formation of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as a giant stride towards throwing off the yoke of wage slavery and of the robber class of capitalists. We call upon the Socialists of the land to carry the revolutionary spirit of the S. T. & L. A. into all the organizations of the workers, and thus consolidate and concentrate the proletariat of America in one irresistible class-conscious army, equipped both with the shield of the economic organization and the sword of the Socialist Labor Party ballot."

Whereas, This resolution was adopted, not by the national convention only, but also by an overwhelming referendum vote (more than 10 to 1) of the Party membership, and that the same has been endorsed in almost all the state conventions of the S. L. P., held since 1896; and that the tactics therein defined have, more particularly with regard to the local field of activity of the New York *Volkszeitung*, been confirmed in three successive general votes of the membership of this locality; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the duty of the board of directors to see to it that the editor of the *Volkszeitung* adhere to the attitude of the Party upon this tactical question, that is held by the Party to be one of the most important points in its tactical programme.

If the claim was honest that the issue was not one of the Party's tactics; if the claim was honest that the issue did not involve the violation of the Association's constitution, and thereby imply disloyalty to the Party, this resolution would have been adopted, at least to save appearances. But it was defeated by a vote of fifty-four against thirty refusing to consider it. All false pretense was scraped off.

There is a third incident that took place on that evening and that deserves mention in this connection as indicating the trend of events. About a year ago, one Rudolph Modest was tried for injuring the interests of the Association. His guilt was manifest; his expulsion was demanded; to get rid of the fellow was a desirable thing to the

Party; the fellow admitted having joined a hostile political party; for the Party to rid an Association that publishes Party organs of an avowed Party enemy was the evident duty of every Party member in the Association. But the motion to expel Modest failed of the constitutional majority. One of the members of the Association, Leib by name, who voted against the expulsion of Modest, and who is a member of the Party, was censured for his conduct by his assembly district. He protested emphatically against such action, his principal ground being that he was not accountable to the Party for his conduct in the Association. This was thought a queer attitude. On the 23rd of last month the attitude lost its queeress and sprang forth into its serious significance.

Careful followers of Party affairs will not have missed the report of the session of February 25 of the general committee of Section Greater New York, published in *The People* of last March 5. Resolutions were there introduced by Comrade Vogt, in which the *Volkszeitung* was condemned for first mutilating the reasons given in the committee why certain candidates then running for national offices were unworthy of support, and then publishing letters by these same candidates calling upon Vogt to state the reasons, which the paper itself had suppressed and mutilated. The resolutions were adopted.

Now, then, the identical Leib, who protested against being called to account by the Party for his actions in the Association, brought, on that evening of March 23rd, charges against Vogt demanding his expulsion for his action in the Party. Thus a member of the Association, who is a member of the Party, is not responsible to the Party for his acts in the Association; but a member of the Party, who is a member of the Association, is responsible to the Association for his acts in the Party. *In other words, the Association is the superior, the S. L. P. the inferior, body!*

These three successive incidents—the vote justifying the *Volkszeitung's* articles to the orchestration of denunciation of the Party; next, the vote rejecting the constitutional clause of loyalty to the Party; and finally, the action of Leib countenanced by the Association—are three culminating gradations. When to them is added the circumstance that, at no time, did Schlueter, the editor of the *Volkszeitung*, who, at the meeting, “explained his position,” repudiate a single anti-Party utterance of his supporters; and when the further circumstances are taken into account that the *Volkszeitung* has been suppressing information damaging to Haverhillism; that it has editorially disclaimed knowledge of the information necessary to refute the absurd excuses given by the Haverhillites for their armory record; that it is, editorially, making convulsive efforts to suppress the fact that it was the S. T. & L. A. that conducted the Allegheny strike, and that, but for the existence of the S. T. & L. A., the proletarian upflaring in this case would have been captured and led into the ground by the pure and simple fakirs, and would have been lost to the movement as usual; that (very much like the Haverhillites, who also throw in, somewhere in a corner of their taxation stuff, phrases about the abolition of the wage system and the neces-

sity of voting only for their party) the *Volkszeitung* is publishing, editorially, genuine "reform" small-traders' sentiments on taxation, all in opposition, not only to a healthy, aggressive Socialist movement, but in direct opposition to the Party's officially expressed attitude as set forth in its Municipal Programme—when all this is taken into account, the fact stands indisputable that the *Volkszeitung Publishing Association has lost caste, and is now drifting into open hostility to the Party.*

Well and wittily did a comrade strike off the situation on that evening of March 23rd. The yearly election for the editor of the *Volkszeitung* coming up in the order of business after the above votes, the comrade nominated *Justus Schwab* as the most appropriate man for the office, under the circumstances.

We imagine we hear at this stage the cry of surprise: "What, Justus Schwab; that lager-bier anarchist; that notorious enemy of the Party; that clown of the labor movement; is he, too, a member of the *Volkszeitung Publishing Association*?" Yes, and not only he but a number of others of more or less equal kidney. Among the members, for instance, is Ernest Bohm, who formerly rarely attended the meetings, but now, since he left the Party to escape expulsion for publishing advertisements of capitalist parties in the souvenir of the late lamented Central Labor Federation, has an interest in seeking to do the Party all the mischief he can, and, together with his supporters in guilt, is always on deck; Philip Bauer and Sohr, both of whom, in and out of season, have nothing but slander for the Party, and oppose it at all turns, and the latter of whom was told in his own union by a German fellow member that, in Germany, he would be looked upon as a police agent; a Dr. Hoffman, "Gold-bug Anarchist"; one Filley, all around crazy anarchist—all non-members of the Party, and who knows how many more. And this brings us to the lessons to be learned.

The *Volkszeitung Publishing Association* was established by the Party, as a publishing committee of the Party and for the Party's sake; and it owes its existence to the Party, without which it cannot live; indeed, its constitution provides that none but members of the Party are qualified for membership. But the constitution goes no further. The Red Card is necessary for admission; but, once in, the card may become as black as pitch, and membership is not forfeited. From this central defect flow all the other evils.

Even if the Party were to yank out of its own midst every unworthy member, such action would not rid the Association of them; on the contrary, the Party might even be "held up" by such people, out of fear that, if it expels them and they are already members of the Association, they would then seek there to wreak vengeance, by turning the paper against the Party.

More closely connected with that evil than might seem at first blush is this other, which is just now illustrated in the Association: An opposition element (that not only is a mere minority of the Party membership in this locality, as is conclusively shown by the recent vote on national officers, but that represents a pitiable minor-

ity of the Party at large, as happens in this instance) may have (as in this instance) the majority in the Association; and due to defective safeguards on the part of the Party in the organization of the Association, that minority, held under control within the Party, can make, in the Association, a *coup de main*, capture the paper and thus seek to lord things over the Party. And that is just what is happening. And when it is considered that this Party minority, but Association majority, is conspicuously composed (apart from the outright hostile and non-Party member contingent, and a few downright vicious individuals) of an element among whom not one active and experienced Party worker is to be found, but mainly old, tired-out Party members, tired out and disheartened through past efforts and the failures that were inevitable, due to their unfamiliarity with the country, its ways, its language, and its people—when all this is considered then there appears glaringly both the full significance of recent occurrences, and the preposterousness of the situation. Then also will be understood the attitude of Section Greater New York, as reported elsewhere in this issue. The Party is in no humor to be trifled with.

All of which should serve as sign-posts for guidance in framing the organization that will have to be entrusted, at least technically, with the publication of the now all the more urgently needed *Daily People*.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK CITY.

STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST
LABOR PARTY, TO THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND TO VOTERS
OF THE S. L. P. TICKET THROUGHOUT THE LAND.

[Originally published in *The People* on May 1, 1899.]

Comrades: As the Socialist Movement develops, constantly gaining in strength, momentum and aggressiveness, forging ahead over obstacles previously deemed insurmountable, it naturally happens from time to time that some of those who formerly were in the front rank, unable to keep the pace with the advancing column, fall behind, and, after vainly calling for a halt, are left in the rear if not lost to the cause.

At such times it unavoidably happens also that bitter personalities are indulged in; because the great fact is not yet generally comprehended—or is too frequently lost sight of by those even who comprehend it—that social movements, or diverging tendencies within those movements, are not the product of their so-called leaders, but that the inverse proposition is true. The existence of differences is therefore, as a rule, wrongly imputed to those who, selected as agents or mouthpieces of the movements or tendencies to which they respectively contribute their individual efforts, sympathetically reflect in their acts or utterances, with such powers as they possess, the collective sentiment of their respective constituents. Manifestly, a mere change of mouthpieces would not change opinions, while any sort of compromise with a view to “harmony” could only result in emphasizing the divergences by closer friction; so that in the end the unavoidable crises would come, intensified by additional elements of discord.

It is through such a crisis that the Socialist Movement is now passing in New York City; a crisis brought about, not suddenly by the deeds or words of impetuous men, but gradually by the slow and logical working of forces, which, originally starting from the same point and for a time apparently moving in the same direction, began years ago to display opposite tendencies. But it is precisely from such crises that the Socialist Movement has always and in every

country emerged stronger, until at last it became irresistible wherever it had succeeded in overcoming the internal resistances to its advance along the lines plainly marked out by the class struggle.

On occasions of this gravity, however, it is highly important that every fact of unquestionable authenticity and value, tending to enlighten those upon whom the movement must depend for its integrity and progress, be submitted to their most dispassionate consideration. With this end in view, and hoping that no previous association, no present environment, no influence other than the sense of right, and no irrelevant or secondary matter of dispute, may interfere with the exercise of judgment and consistent action, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party has therefore deemed it its duty to the membership of the said Party—and to those who, though not yet members, are in full sympathy with its great aim and support it at the ballot box, but might be misled by inaccurate information—to publicly issue the following statement.

This step, in fact, has been rendered imperative by the hostile position which certain members and non-members, availing themselves of their editorial command over a paper heretofore considered a Socialist organ, and claiming a right of criticism to the extent of public attack, have publicly taken upon questions, not only of so-called "tactics" but of fundamental principle, pertaining to the Party, repeatedly settled by its national and state conventions, settled again, through the referendum, by an overwhelming majority of its membership, yet always open to free discussion within its organization.

Comrades: As you all know, the seed of modern Socialism was first planted in American soil by German militants a generation ago. Their self-imposed task was onerous and thankless; their labors remained for a long time unproductive. There was here in those days no "labor movement" in the true meaning which a class-conscious proletarian attaches to this expression. The undeveloped country was still then affording numberless opportunities to middle class aspirations. Individualism of the meanest sort was rampant; solidarity an unknown word. The only purpose of such labor organization as there could be under the prevailing conditions was to maintain wages at a point where, by "saving," the worker could at last become a small "boss." He resigned himself to be skinned for a time in order to become a skinner of his fellows. The "smartest" man—that is, the most cunning and unscrupulous in the choice of means to attain this end—was the natural leader of a labor body composed of such elements. And as politics presented occasions of pecuniary and social advancement to men of glib tongue and absent conscience, every labor leader was a politician.

The six years' crisis that began in 1873, by reducing the American working class to a condition of helplessness sufficiently suggestive of its inexorable fate under capitalism, gave the German comrades, chiefly in New York City, their first opportunity of agitation among people of other nationalities. They improved it to the utmost of their limited means. But economic education is a plant of slow

growth, especially in its primary stages and in a soil long productive of the rankest weeds. Moreover, Socialist agitation, ever so well systematized in Germany, was still here in its experimental stage. At any rate they spread Socialist doctrine, made some converts, and in order to give a practical illustration of their methods and purposes, they constituted a Socialist Party and boldly undertook, with their scant resources, to issue a Socialist daily paper in the German language, namely, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

In this last enterprise they had to comply with the capitalistic law of the State of New York by forming an association that would nominally own the paper, and which they named "The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association." But it was understood that the paper was actually, then and forever, the property of the Party, subject in all its utterances to the will of the Party, and amenable at all times to that truly social-democratic, self-imposed and self-enforced discipline of the Party, of which Germany, under the anti-Socialist Bismarckian "laws of exception," was at that very moment giving the world a magnificent example.

Of course, within the Party, but only within it, the editors, like any other members thereof, not only could ventilate with the utmost freedom any personal views which they might entertain, but were expected to do so; and it was not deemed possible that the day might come when a non-member of the Party could be called upon to occupy the chair of editor-in-chief, or even the position of sub-editor, and, as such, oppose in the columns of the paper the tactics of the Party, criticize its programme, or do ought that could in any way give aid and comfort to its enemies—all in the name of freedom, as understood by the anarchists.

The *Volkszeitung* went on. Armed with this precious weapon, the New York Socialists of 1878 placed a municipal ticket in the field and cast about 1,700 votes for their mayoralty candidate. Most of the trade unions that had survived the crisis were mere skeletons. The only ones that showed any signs of life were German organizations, thoroughly imbued with the Socialist spirit. With the revival of capitalistic business in 1879 and 1880, trade unionism emerged from its torpid state. The most active, the most earnest agents of this awakening were German Socialists, seconded by a few men of other nationalities, who professed conversion to Socialism or at least sympathy approximating conversion. Their great cry, "Organize! Organize! Organize!" was taken up everywhere. They did not at first conceive that an organization for economic war against individual capitalists could not of itself so emphasize the class struggle and so plainly suggest the right mode of action, as to logically, necessarily bring about its own evolution into an organization for political war against capitalism. Lulled by fakirs who fattened on their dues and profited by their misspent activity in the building up of pure and simple trade unions, they patiently waited to see the "inevitable" result. Seeing nothing, they finally began to "bore from the inside." They bored so well that in 1880 they found themselves outside of Socialism and in the mire of Greenbackism. Re-

tracing their steps, they bored again from within and in 1886 fell out into the still deeper mire of Single Taxism. Disgusted, as they might well have been, they withdrew their economic organizations from the Central Labor Union, formed a central body of their own and quietly attended to their economic fights. At about that time (1888) the Party was so low that, having taken the political field in New York City for the mere purpose of testing its strength, only about 2,000 votes were cast for its candidates—or hardly more than ten years before, despite the enormous growth of the wage-working German population in the American metropolis and the immense progress of Socialism in Germany. In no other part of the country could the Party give even so weak a sign of remaining life.

Such was the outcome of the "tactics" which the *Volkszeitung* would have us revive.

These tactics, so-called, were abandoned in 1890, and others substituted, of which the present ones are the direct, logical evolution. The advance of the Party since then is a matter of such well known record that we may dispense with any comments upon it.

The fact, however, should right here be stated, that at no time and under no circumstances did the *Volkszeitung* aid the Party in carrying out its changed policy; but that many times and in many ways—by editorial silence or innuendoes, by reportorial incompleteness or blue pencil work, and at last by outspoken opposition—it endeavored to discredit that policy which it was in duty bound by the laws of ethics, by its professions of loyalty, and by its constitution, to sustain and promote.

As we have already observed, diverging tendencies are not the creation of their respective mouthpieces. The contrary is true, and it were idle to blame the mouthpieces for their own existence. But the actual fact in the case of the "*Volkszeitung*" is that it attempted the impossible task of not being the mouthpiece of any particular tendency in the labor movement, and that, when the divergences became too great to permit of such "impartiality," it was driven by the legitimate dissatisfaction of the S. L. P. with its tepid loyalty, into an attitude of hot disloyalty.

The admission has indeed been repeatedly been made, by members of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association and by members of its board of directors, that if the *Volkszeitung* were to sustain the uncompromising policy of the S. L. P., its existence might be placed in jeopardy by a loss of the support which it now received from various labor organizations! This is, we dare say, a confession of impotence not less painful than suggestive, and for which there would be no occasion if, applauding as it should have done, the abandonment of cowardly tactics, and welcoming, as it should have done, the adoption of an energetic policy—of the only policy consistent with the teachings of revolutionary Socialism—the *Volkszeitung* had cast away such support as it could get from pure and simple and their anarchist associates, revived the drooping spirits of German comrades exhausted by fruitless attempts to travel an impracticable road, and faced the enemy at every point. Nor is it too

late for such manly action. With 82,000 Socialist votes behind us and daily reports before us of steady progress, the ground is beyond question incalculably safer than it was eight years ago. Moreover, we do not believe that a majority of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association are cowards or traitors. On the contrary, we do believe that all of its members, with the exception of a few anarchists and some other pronounced Party enemies, are loyal to the Party; that they are willing to sustain it at any cost and at all hazards; but that the minds of a number of them have been poisoned in an atmosphere long impregnated with timorousness and disloyalty, and now filled with the subtle venom of personal animosity. It is, therefore, with a friendly feeling that we publicly call upon the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association to disown the hostility of its present editors, and to prove its loyalty by enforcing its constitution.

Of the claim which those editors set forth, in defiance of the said constitution, that they commit no act of disloyalty in publicly opposing the "tactics" of the Party, we should not specially speak here if what they term "tactics" was not so closely related to the fundamental principle of the class struggle as to involve the Socialist Movement in its entirety. That the attitude of the Party concerning the nature of trade unionism is erroneously considered by some German comrades in this country as a mere matter of tactics, happens from the fact that in Germany, as in France and Belgium, trade unionism is overwhelmingly socialistic. There was no occasion in those countries for asserting in the Socialist declaration of principles the necessity of a condition which was in existence and the existence of which was taken as a matter of course. But the occasion arose in the international congresses as soon as the Socialist parties and the Socialist trade unions of those countries found themselves confronted by the pure and simple anti-Socialist trade unions of Great Britain and by the anarchists of everywhere. Hence the emphatic declaration at London, in 1896, that no labor organization shall be entitled to representation in international congresses unless it recognizes the necessity of political action upon class lines; that is, upon the Socialist lines of battle. That settles this issue.

Another matter to which we must here call attention is the rash act of the said editors in attempting to dispute the position of the S. L. P. on the subject of taxation and hiring for that purpose a voluble logomachist who never knew on what side of the fence he could most safely stand upon any question.

The disloyalty here is most flagrant. After years of silent acquiescence, during which the editors of the *Volkszeitung* not only had every opportunity of making themselves heard in the councils of the Party, but were in duty bound to express their dissent in those councils if they actually entertained contrary views, they now suddenly—without provocation, without warning, and in the same spirit already displayed in their attacks upon the Party's trade union principle—opened in the columns of the paper a campaign of confusion against the simple, clear and radically true formula which the S. L.

P. is victoriously opposing to the most insidious and most bamboozling declarations of middle-class parties.

There is no room in this address for a discourse on taxation; and we must for the present confine ourselves to an emphatic reassertion of the fundamental principle enunciated in the New York State platform of 1895 and in the Municipal Programme of the S. L. P.; which, together with the not less fundamental position of the Party on trade unionism, has been loyally maintained by the Party's English organ, *The People*, and its German organ, *Vorwaerts*. [See appendix to this "Statement."]

But whether the editors of the *Volkszeitung* be permitted to continue in their perverse course, or whether the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, aroused by their conduct, takes against them such action as the case obviously requires, the duty now devolves upon this National Executive Committee of presenting a complete and dispassionate argument, setting forth all the grounds upon which the S. L. P. rests its general declaration. With this end in view a leaflet is being prepared on the subject of taxation.

Lastly, attention is called to the below Appendix, in substantiation of the charges herein made and in further evidence of the *Volkszeitung's* hostility to the Party's interests, as displayed by the editors of the said *Volkszeitung* in their treatment of the "Haverhill Armory Social Democracy."

In conclusion, comrades, having laid before you a chain of facts so specific, so indisputable, and so closely related in nature and sequence as to leave no room for misinterpretation or sophistry, we may fully trust for the rest in your clear Socialist perception and uncompromising Socialist spirit.

ALVAN S. BROWN,
PATRICK MURPHY,
JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
C. H. MATCHETT,
LUCIEN SANIAL,
ARTHUR KEEP.

Dissenting: HENRY STAHL.

(Countersigned and in favor): HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary.

APPENDIX.

[Note.—For the perfect understanding of the falsifications, suppressions and other wrongs purposely committed by the *Volkszeitung*, as shown in the following quotations, it is necessary to know and to bear in mind that the *Vorwaerts*, official German organ of the S. L. P., is also the weekly edition of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. The editors of the latter cannot adulterate the weekly *Vorwaerts*, but they boldly, unscrupulously, adulterate its articles when taking them over into the columns of the daily *Volkszeitung*.

I.

PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO PARTY TACTICS ON THE SUBJECT OF TRADE UNIONISM.

1. *Vorwaerts*, Feb. 19, 1898, has article on New Bedford strike of that month, showing how the strike of 1894 had not fructified the labor movement of that city, despite Socialist speakers; the efforts

of these redounded, as formerly, only in favor of the fakirs; the S. L. P. vote remained small, and subsequently even went down (154); in Feb., 1898, however, the Socialists adopted new tactics; their agitation took the practical form of organizing the strikers into the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; owing to this circumstance the expectation was justified that Socialist agitation would not then prove barren, it would withdraw the workers from the fakirs' influence.—*This article was suppressed by the Volkszeitung.*

2. *Vorwaerts*, Feb. 26, 1898, has article on same subject and same lines, and sums up saying: Whether this (Socialist) propaganda among the strikers will prove of lasting effect depends upon whether these strikers are brought, also in their economic efforts, into permanent contact with the Socialist Labor Party "by joining the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."—*This article was mutilated by the Volkszeitung*: the above passage, given in quotation marks, *was stricken out*, and the whole article was thereby deprived of its only point, and given the tone of the old time Party's tactics and principles that had been rejected by the national convention of 1896.

[N. B.—The forecast in the *Vorwaerts* that the new trade union principles and tactics of the Party justified the expectation of tangible results was speedily verified. At the by-election for Congress in New Bedford, June, 1898, the Party's vote rose from 154 to over 700, and, at the following November elections of the same year, the vote rose several hundreds more.]

3. On Dec. 14 and 19, 1898, commenting upon the Kansas City convention of the pure and simple A. F. of L., the *Volkszeitung* made successively the two following more open attacks upon the Party's trade union policy:

"The comfort of these two elements was formerly not quite so well provided for at the time when there were more Socialist plikes in that pond; at the time, namely, when a part of these had not yet chosen to lead, outside of the American Federation, a separate existence of doubtful success, instead of, as formerly, tirelessly, unflaggingly, step by step, boring their way forward from within. At that time, the corruptionists of the labor movement always felt quite uncomfortable at the opening of every annual convention, because they were in the dark as to the strength in which the Socialists might turn up, as to the weapons of attack these might be equipped with, and as to how far these would succeed in making breaches in the ranks of the shaky. This sense of uneasiness is now wholly vanished."—(Dec. 14.)

"Does it not now dawn upon certain of our own comrades that their own favorite, frequently untactful form of attack against the non-Socialist trades union movement, and, in connection therewith, their own separate trades union tactics, has placed in the hands of the corrupt foes of Socialism in the convention at Kansas City the very weapons that could not fail to effect upon the indifferent element present, and that thereby helped to retard the flow of the Socialist current?"—(Dec. 19.)

4. *Vorwaerts*, March 18 1899, describes the effectiveness of the S. T. & L. A. in the Allegheny strike, and the needfulness of the Party's tactics on trade unionism, and clinches the point with illustrations.—*This article was mutilated in the Volkszeitung of the same date; all allusion to the S. T. & L. A. is stricken out; and what is left thus conveys the idea that the same old tactics had been adopted and had proved successful.*

5. *Volkszeitung*, March 25, 1899, has an original article in which the Allegheny strike and its excellent results for the cause of labor are referred to as though the tactics to which these were due were the old tactics recommended by the *Volkszeitung*. He who is not posted, would miss the point that only through the S. T. & L. A. was such success had, and would be misled into confidence in the old and rejected tactics.

6. Comrade Forker, writing from Rhode Island on the elections just held there on April 5, 1899, sent to the *Volkszeitung* a communication in the course of which the important role of the S. T. & L. A.

in that successful election was described.—*The Volkszeitung* mutilated Forker's communication, leaving out all mention of the S. T. & L. A., and when the Vorwaerts asked for the communication to give the German comrades outside of New York the benefit thereof, the Forker communication could not be found.

7. On April 3 the *Volkszeitung* reported about the Whitestone Association of Marble Polishers, which, in order to prevent the organization of its trade and to keep a monopoly of the trade to itself, placed the admission fee at \$50, then raised it to \$100, and then, failing in its purpose to keep away applicants, absolutely refused to take in new members. Commenting upon this, the *Volkszeitung* of April 4 and 5 declared that, even so, the organization of a rival union is not allowable, and would be "a blow in the face of solidarity," a blow that "never and nevermore could promote the advance of the working class whether on the economic or the political field."

8. The *Vorwaerts*, April 15, 1899, had an article exposing the fraudulent claims now being made of increases in wages in the cotton industries, of New England especially; and it drew black upon black the dismal, helpless future of the textile workers—were it not, the *Vorwaerts* closes saying, for the ray of light and hope shed across their path by the election returns from Rhode Island where, thanks to the organization of the S. T. & L. A. among the textile workers, such an intelligent and vigorous spirit animates the men that their struggles will be successful and beneficent for the textile proletariat.—*This whole closing paragraph is suppressed by the Volkszeitung* of the same date, thus leaving the article a dead stone.

II.

VIOLATIONS OF THE PARTY'S PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS ON TAXATION.

1. The *Volkszeitung*, March 7, has an article (evidently directed against *The People's* "Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan" of two days previous), in which, contrary to scientific economics, contrary to statistical facts, and contrary to the Party's national declaration (Municipal Programme issued by N. E. C.), and the delaration of the Party of the State of New York, the *Volkszeitung* maintains that the taxes are paid by the working class out of its wages; and in which, seeking to show the importance of the discovery, it argues with false figures that the Fifty-fifth Congress has imposed a burden of taxation of \$100 a year on every family; and it has during the last four weeks continuously pursued the same lines, combatting *The People*, to the injury of a clear understanding of the principle involved, and to the injury of the Party, whose otherwise supporters cannot fall thereby to be rendered accessible to bourgeois "tax reform" political planks in their endeavor to quickly throw off so heavy a burden of taxation as \$100 a year which they are falsely made believe by the *Volkszeitung* that they are loaded with.

2. *Vorwaerts*, April 22, has an article on "Demagogic Taxation Politics," in which it proves with statistical figures that "the question of taxation can, under no circumstances, be of importance to the workmen," that "their condition is not affected by changes in capitalist taxation policies," that "the theory upon which the tax-politicians seek to talk the workmen into feeling interested in the question of taxation is the claim that taxes are a pressing burden on the workmen, and that the removal or curtailment of taxes would bring an improvement of their condition," and that the "theory is absurd."—This article was suppressed by the *Volkszeitung*, thus suppressing the Party's voice and rendering the Party tongue-tied toward the German element in this city.

III.

HOSTILITY TO THE PARTY'S INTERESTS BY GIVING AID AND COMFORT TO THE MANIFESTLY IGNORANT AND CORRUPT "HAVERHILL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

1. The *Volkszeitung* has systematically suppressed all information

appearing in *The People* or the *Vorwaerts* that is damaging to the "Haverhill Social Democracy."

(a) It suppressed the Corcoran letter and all the other numerous letters that were published from Massachusetts comrades showing Mayor Chase to be a crook and an ignoramus; and showing, from bourgeois papers clippings themselves, how Chase and Carey were denying the class struggle, were fishing for bourgeois support, and were seeking to establish harmony between capitalists and workingmen, were supporting pure and simple politics in Marlboro; and were considered "good Socialists" by that bourgeois press;

(b) It suppressed the letter that was reproduced from the *Haverhill Gazette*, signed by a Democratic candidate, showing that political deals had been made between the "Social Democrats" and the "Regular Democrats," and that Carey was cognizant thereof—a statement that, although appearing in print in his own city, Carey did not dare deny;

(c) It suppressed the information that the first official act of Mayor Chase was the appointment of a notorious Democratic politician as his *private secretary*, thus beginning to "redeem pledges"; and

(d) It suppressed the more recent information that the "Haverhill Social Democracy" had raised funds from the "liquor interests."

2. The *Volkszeitung*, Dec. 31, 1898, while declaring with general phrases that the conduct of Carey, in supporting and voting for a \$15,000 appropriation for building a new armory, is not a class-conscious act, dodges the real point at issue, the evident corruption of the act, and the still more evident dishonesty of the defense. The *Volkszeitung* of that date gives editorially Carey's defense in full, including the idiotic claim about his "liability to a severe fine," had he acted otherwise, and then it says:

"So much for the plea of his supporters, upon the correctness of the details of which we are not able to judge." !!!

Not able to judge upon the details of a plea that bears on its face the stamp of fraud, and that could hardly impose even upon a child of average sense!

3. The *Volkszeitung*, Jan. 24, 1899, puts in a good word for the corruptionist and bourgeois Mayor Chase by misstating an important fact. In the article of that date entitled "Two Mayors," it compares Mayor Jones of Toledo with Mayor Chase of Haverhill. It has much general talk against both on their "humanity," etc., language, but finally says of Chase:

"What, indeed, distinguishes him favorably from the other (Jones) is that he evidently addresses himself knowingly to the right element, i. e., to the workingmen who are organized for the economic battle against capital."

The facts are just the reverse, and were illustrated in this very city at the very time that article was written. Jones was just then in New York addressing "organized workingmen," the Letter Carriers, while the information, all along suppressed by the *Volkszeitung*, showed right along that Chase was pre-eminently addressing himself to bourgeois while Jones was the chap who was seeking workingmen's audiences. Indeed, Jones, who imagines he has the bourgeois with him, is straining for workingmen supporters, while Chase, who imagines he has captured the workers, is conspicuously straining for a bourgeois following.

TO ALL SECTIONS AND PARTY MEMBERS.

CALL FOR A GENERAL VOTE BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

[Originally published in *The People* on June 11, 1899.]

Comrades: The following correspondence is submitted to you, with the addition of necessary comments and the consequent question which you are hereby called upon to decide by general vote.

I.

HEADQUARTERS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
AND OFFICE OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.
184 William Street.

NEW YORK, May 15, 1899.

To the Board of Directors, Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, 184 William Street, New York City.

Comrades: At the last session of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., a number of complaints were received and read coming from subscribers to the Party organ, *The People*, to the effect that they had received a so-called "Monthly Edition of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*," containing matter injurious to the Party and for the dissemination of which the mailing list of *The People* had evidently been used, because the wrappers, in which the aforesaid sheet had been sent, bore the address labels of *The People* with the term of subscription credited thereon. The complainants conclude that there must be a traitor in our camp to make such a thing possible, and they deem it their duty to call attention to this underhanded work.

The National Executive Committee, upon hearing these complaints, and in view of the fact that the mailing list of *The People* is the result of the tireless work of the Party membership all over the land and must not be diverted to purposes hostile and antagonistic to the principles and the tactics of the Party, instructed the undersigned to communicate with your board demanding an explanation as to who is responsible for the act of treachery that has evidently been committed. Awaiting your reply, I am,

Yours truly,

HENRY KUHN, *Secretary.*

II.

HEADQUARTERS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
AND OFFICE OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.
184 William Street.

NEW YORK, May 24, 1899.

To the Board of Directors, Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, 184 William Street, New York City.

Comrades: It has been brought to the attention of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., that, with the last issue of the German Party organ, *Vorwaerts*, there has been issued an alleged supplement, wherein the principles and policy of the S. L. P. are assailed, said "supplement" appearing as an integral part of the Party organ, and being so designated in the title.

In view of the fact that neither the duly elected editor of said organ, nor the National Executive Committee, has been consulted in this matter, the said "supplement" having been smuggled in, this action, from whatever quarter it may emanate, appears, apart from its treasonable aspect, like a gross breach of contract existing between the National Executive Committee on the one hand and the Publishing Association on the other. The National Executive Committee instructed the undersigned to communicate with your board, with a view of ascertaining whether the act complained of has been committed by the order of your body. Awaiting an early reply, I am,

Yours truly,

HENRY KUHN, *Secretary.*

III.

National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Dear Comrades: We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated the 15th inst. and the 24th inst., requiring respectively what right we had to use the mailing list of *The People*, and whether or not the last Supplement to the *Vorwaerts* had been issued as such by authority of our Board.

From the nature of both inquiries we conclude that the present members of the National Executive Committee are not quite familiar with the arrangements under which *The People* and the *Vorwaerts* are being published, and in the interest of a better understanding between our respective bodies, we think it proper to set forth those arrangements at length.

In the beginning of 1891 when the *Workmen's Advocate*, the predecessor of *The People*, was on the verge of bankruptcy, our Association (the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association) came to the rescue of the Party by entering with the latter into a written agreement, of which the following is a copy:

"Agreement, made between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

"It is hereby agreed:

"1. The Socialist Labor Party agrees to discontinue the publication of the *Workmen's Advocate* with the issue dated March 28th, 1891, and to transfer the subscription list of the same to the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

"2. The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association agrees to publish on April 5th, 1891, the first issue of *The People* and to fill out the undischarged balance of all the prepaid subscriptions of the *Workmen's Advocate*.

"3. The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association agrees to reserve so much of the fifth page of *The People* as the S. L. P. may desire for its official use; that the first column of the said fifth page shall be headed, '*Workmen's Advocate*, Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party,' and the space used by the S. L. P. shall be under the sole and exclusive control of the said S. L. P. or its National Executive Committee.

"4. The chief editor of *The People* shall be elected jointly by the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. and the Board of Trustees of the S. C. P. Ass'n, and a majority of each of said boards shall be required to elect. In case the said boards cannot agree on an editor, a general vote of the members of the S. L. P. shall decide.

"5. The S. C. P. Ass'n agrees to set aside all net profits that may be realized by the publication of *The People*, after all its outlays and expenses are paid, as a separate fund not to be used except for the publication of *The People* as a daily newspaper.

"The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

"H. GOTTSCHALK, *Treasurer.*

"[SEAL OF PARTY.]

"BENJAMIN J. GREUTSCH, *National Secretary.*

"Dated, March, 1891."

A similar agreement was subsequently made for the publication of the *Vorwaerts*, with the difference that the latter since its publication was assumed by our Association never had an independent existence at all, but was simply the weekly edition of the *Volkszeitung*, with the additional heading of the *Vorwaerts* on it, and that the space given to the Party in that edition was limited to but five columns.

Acting upon the letter and spirit of these agreements, our Association has founded *The People* and has ever since been publishing both organs.

Thus you see our Association has always been and now is a sole owner of both *The People* and the *Vorwaerts* and everything connected with them, including the mailing list as well as the right of issuing the said organs in any form it may desire, and with or without a supplement, as it may think best; The rights of the Party to those organs are limited to the choice of the editors in conjunction with our board, and to the unrestricted use and of a limited space of each of the said organs for Party purposes. And this is not a bare legal claim, but a good moral right as well.

The arrangement set forth in the agreement above quoted, was by no means a business arrangement: Our Association could never expect any pecuniary benefit from it, as all profits were from the outset set apart as a fund for the publication of a *Daily People*; on the other hand, however, we assumed the entire burden of all deficits and losses arising from the publication of those organs without receiving any contribution worth mentioning from the Party. And those deficits were until recently quite heavy. From the date of the agreement until this date our Association has paid deficits of *The People* amounting to over \$5,000, and our right to pay those deficits was never questioned.

Such was the situation when the editor of *The People*, with a zeal worthy of a better purpose, commenced his campaign of petty and malicious slander against our Association and its members, and of his puerile, ill-mannered and entirely unprovoked attacks against its brother organ, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a campaign in which he was ably seconded by the editor of the *Vorwaerts*. The sight now offered to the members of our Party was something that was never precedent and, it is to be hoped, will never be repeated in the history of our movement. A few theoretical questions of very subordinate importance to the work of the Party, and on which, by the way, the stand of the *Volkszeitung* was, in our opinion, fully in accord with the principles of scientific Socialism, were made the pretext for the vilest abuses against a Party organ that had served the interests of Socialism unflinchingly and tirelessly over twenty years. The editor of *The People* seemed to have forgotten all other missions of our Party organ and exhausted his entire famous vocabulary of abuses on the *Volkszeitung*.

Under those circumstances it became our imperative duty to defend against those attacks and to give our side of the case to the comrades at large. We drew up an explanation, moderate in tone and style and very pertinent in substance, and as a matter of mere courtesy, applied to your Committee for permission to publish it in the organs to which we have paramount rights.

You know how this courtesy was appreciated: Your Committee not only presumed arbitrarily to shut the columns of our organs to our defense, but it in addition to it, issued a very one-sided, and, let it be said, a very hasty and ill-considered statement of its own, containing new attacks against the *Volkszeitung* and the Association publishing the same. And this without giving us any opportunity to present our side of the case: We are a self-respecting body of Socialists, sirs, and we could not afford to remain branded as enemies to the Party in the eyes of our comrades; our defense had to be published. Our contracts with the Party having been grossly violated by you through your refusal to allow us even a small part of the space reserved to us in our organs, we could resume the sole ownership of the same and continue their publication in a manner more subservient

to the interests of the Party than at present; we could also order our explanation published in *The People* and *Vorwaerts* without consulting anybody, or we could publish our defense in a separate edition or as a supplement to either of the two organs, and thus reach the members of the Party and our own subscribers.

We chose the latter as the most peaceful means, desiring to avoid a breach with the present members of the National Executive Committee. We authorized and ordered the use of the mailing list of *The People* and the issue of the supplement to the *Vorwaerts*, and shall do so again and as often as occasion requires until your body comes to a better comprehension of the duties or the trust placed in its hands by the Party, and ceases to deny us the right of self-defense as it did in flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of common decency, the principle of according to the accused the right of defense, which is respected even by the most reactionary bourgeois governments in their dealings with criminals of the most dangerous character.

We shall refrain from answering such flattering epithets as "act of treachery," "underhand work," and similar expressions, with which your letters abound—they are only embellishments of style; but we certainly protest against the designation of our publication as "matter injurious to the Party." That phrase, which seems to be borrowed from some of the Pope's encyclicals, is sorely out of place in a communication of the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. Our issue consisted of our explanation and a series of articles on the question of taxation; our readers might agree or disagree with us, but we believe our Party is based on a sound scientific basis, and can stand the light of criticism; we believe in placing everything pertaining to Party matters before the forum of the membership, and from that point of view we do not regard even the scandalous attacks of *The People* injurious matter, all the less a dispassionate and decent criticism of Party affairs such as was contained in our publication in question.

Yours truly,

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, SOCIALISTIC CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.

F. H. KOENIG, *Secretary*.

I. AS TO THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF THE SOCIALISTIC CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.

In the address of the National Executive Committee, entitled, "The Situation in New York," published in *The People* of May 1, a brief statement has already been made of the circumstances under which the said Association was founded. But a few additional words in reference to this matter may here serve the purpose of greater precision or clearness. At that time the Socialists of Germany, in order to save their Party and its various organizations from the destructive aims of Bismarckian legislation, had established a "trustee" system (*Vertrauens männer-System*), which consisted in the appointment of certain men, enjoying the full confidence of the Party, to do in their own individual names certain things that the Party itself could not legally do in its collective capacity. As a matter of fact these trustees did nothing more than faithfully carry out the instructions of the Party, to which they owed at every step a strict account of their actions and an absolute compliance with its decisions. The very same method of dealing with legal impediments naturally suggested itself to the German Socialists of New York when, having resolved to publish a newspaper in the German language, they not only formed the Social-

istic Co-operative Publishing Association for this primary and immediate purpose, but further extended its declared object to the publication of Socialist papers and literature in other languages. As obviously appears from all the well known facts of that time, taken in close connection with the very words of the constitution of the Association, its members were in their own view of themselves, as well as the estimation of all the other Party members, the mere trustees (*Vertrauens männer*) of the Party, especially appointed to create and develop a Party press, subject at all times to Party control, regardless of any property rights which the capitalistic law of the State vested in them, and which, by the superior law of Socialist ethics, they were bound to never enforce, claim, or even mention. It were, indeed, preposterous to conceive that the Party, jealous as it was of its independence, quick to resent the merest appearance of dictation, and suspicious of any scheme savoring of capitalistic methods, would have not only countenanced but induced and promoted in its midst the formation of a private concern for the avowed object of placing in the hands of a comparatively few of its members the entire possession and absolute control of its own mightiest weapon—the Party press.

II. AS TO THE WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE.

Not only, then, was the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association built up by the Party as a special Party agency for a special Party purpose, but care was taken to make no premature demands upon it that might retard its growth and consequently impair its future efficiency in the contemplated work of establishing at the proper time an English daily. The sections "agitated" for the *Volkszeitung*; the Socialist unions advertised in its columns; subscriptions were opened to cover its deficits, pay its debts, or increase its means; entertainments were given for its benefit, numbers of which yielded large sums of money, etc., etc. Yet the Party, which in the meantime was painfully gaining adherents among the English-speaking workmen, and which imperatively needed an English organ, undertook to publish a small weekly with its own scanty resources, thereby assuming an inevitable burden, which it might have rightfully imposed upon the Association.

This burden was for a long time heavy. In the end it was somewhat reduced by a subscription list which contained valuable elements of agitation for a more effective organ. But as the deficit was still too great for the Party to bear without crippling its other necessary and expanding modes of propaganda, the Party finally accepted the proposition made by the Association itself to take hold of the *Workmen's Advocate*, enlarge its size, and otherwise do what was mechanically and administratively required to successfully develop the paper under its new name, *The People*. Hence the agreement of March, 1891, quoted in the above letter from the board of directors to the N. E. C.

Observe that success at a comparatively small cost was then no longer doubtful, although largely depending, of course, upon editorial ability. The Party had changed its tactics in 1889. Its vote was confined in 1888 to the city of New York, where it had reached in

that year the small figure of about 2,000; whereas in 1890 it extended to the whole State, reaching to a total of 13,000, half of which was cast in the cities of New York and Brooklyn.

Moreover, other States, encouraged by this marked progress, were then preparing to enter the field, while the organization of sections in various parts of the country showed not only increased activity, but a steady accession of English-speaking workingmen. In the light of these facts the slur intended by the board of directors in their reference to the "bankrupt" condition of the *Workmen's Advocate*, might be termed ludicrous were it not so sadly characteristic of "bourgeois" notions, and "bourgeois" business. So long as the *Workmen's Advocate* was directly published by the S. L. P., it could no more than the S. L. P. become bankrupt. True, the wealth of the S. L. P. does not consist in accumulated capital; it consists in a treasure far more indestructible; a treasure which can only increase and never be lost; namely, the devotion of its members and their readiness for any possible sacrifice. And it was from that treasure that the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association in the past twenty years derived all its means of existence and all that it now claims to "legally" possess.

III. AS TO THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PEOPLE.

In stating that "From the date of the agreement until this date, our association has paid deficits of *The People* amounting to over \$5,000, and our right to pay those deficits was never questioned," the board of directors is grossly and unpardonably incorrect. The account of *The People* at the end of the first two years showed a deficit of \$3,500, which the Association carried to the debit of its loss and profit account. But from that day to the time when the subscription price was cut down to fifty cents, the account of *The People* showed a balance of about \$900 to its credit. The reduction of price was made on condition that the subscribers to the Daily People's Major Fund agreed to cover any deficit which the said reduction might entail, and on this account the Daily People Committee paid to the Association the sum of \$1,000. The charges carried to the debit of *The People* for various items have been increased, partly legitimately and partly without necessity. On the other hand, *The People* was never credited with any portion of the large sums accruing to the Association from entertainments, etc., given during the last eight years for the benefit of the Party press.

IV. AS TO THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE S. L. P. AND THE S. C. P. A.

This document, as above published, speaks for itself. It is clearly stipulated therein that the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. shall not occupy in any one issue of *The People* or *Vorwaerts* more than one page for its own official matter (such, for instance, as the present call); the evident object of this restrictive clause being to preserve the "news-paper" character of the Party organs for the purpose of general circulation among people who are not Party members. But it is not

less clearly stipulated that the S. L. P., through its chief editors elected in the manner therein provided for with the utmost precision, shall have the entire editorial control of the two papers, since the editors themselves are entirely subject to the control of the S. L. P. alone.

The express condition, that in case of a disagreement between the board of directors of the Association and the National Executive Committee concerning the selection of the chief editor of *The People* or *Vorwaerts* he shall be elected by a general vote of the Party, settles this question beyond the possibility of dispute. It establishes on the one hand the supreme and undivided command of the Party over the contents of its organs from the first to the last line of their every issue; and on the other hand it places the Association in its correct position, which it fully determines: the position of a mechanical and clerical agency of the Party for the publication of Party papers, without any editorial rights whatsoever.

This position the Party had neglected to emphasize when the *Volkszeitung* was founded. It should then have likewise reserved to itself the election of the chief editor of that paper. But without entering into a lengthy consideration of this unfortunate omission and its consequences, let it be stated here that the Party was clearer-sighted in 1891 than in 1878. Its experience had already taught it that the Party as a whole was a safer guardian of its own principles and a more reliable manager of its own affairs than a limited body of Socialists, ever so "good," so "wise," and so "trustworthy," for the reason that the individuals originally composing such a body are not eternal, that their successors may not be so perfect, and that some even of the original best are liable to change for the worse, whereas the S. L. P. is by its very nature an unchangeable and true body, ever young, ever self-purifying, ever growing in knowledge and strength.

In 1891, the Party had already seen some of the members of the Association turn anarchists, while some others had become middle-class men and a greater number were unconsciously, perhaps, but very obviously evolving into pure and simplers. It therefore, by written agreement, made as secure and complete as it could thus be made, its editorial control of its own organs. Yet, as it now seems, all in vain. A paper chain cannot bind a body which the Socialist spirit has fled and the "bourgeois" spirit of property invaded. Hear the board of directors: "Our Association has always been and now is a sole owner of both *The People* and *Vorwaerts* and everything connected with them, including the mailing list as well as the right of issuing the said organs in any form it may desire, and with or without a supplement, as it may think best." The only "right" which they concede to the S. L. P. outside of a limited space for the publication of its official matter, is the inalienable duty of lengthening the mailing list and otherwise using all its collective strength to pour money into the coffers of the Association, to the end that this mighty property power may the more effectively oppose the tactics and principles of the S. L. P. in its own organs, as the said power

in its supreme wisdom, "may think best." And again: "We authorized and ordered the use of the mailing list of *The People* and the issue of the supplement to the *Vorwaerts*, and shall do so again and as often as occasion requires until your body comes to a better comprehension of the duties of the trust placed in its hands by the Party."

When was greater insolence the accompaniment of bolder assumption?

V. CONCLUSION.

To sum up. The comrades throughout the country are now fully informed as to the circumstances which made it imperative upon *The People* to notice the growing hostility of the *Volkszeitung* to the Party principles and Party tactics. When the board of directors of the Association called upon the N. E. C. with a "reply" which they requested this Committee to publish in *The People*, their attention was called in detail and at length to the various misstatements which it contained. They were told that if their real object was to put an end to the dispute, they should so amend their "reply" as to make their statements agree with the facts and this Committee would then publish it; but that its publication in its then submitted form, by necessitating a rejoinder in correction, would lead to further controversy. To this they made the strange answer that they had "no time" to reconsider any of their statements and that they wanted their "reply" to appear, such as it was, in the May Day edition of *The People*; whereupon the N. E. C. declined to comply with their request and decided to lay the whole matter before the Party and its friends in a comprehensive address, entitled, "The Situation in New York," together with an "Appendix," containing the plain facts and proofs thereof in their consecutive order. This address, published in *The People* of May 1, covered historic ground of a most instructive sort. It showed in the light of past developments and present tendencies the necessity and soundness of the present Party tactics, and "with a friendly feeling publicly called upon the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association to disown the hostility of its present editors and to prove its loyalty by enforcing its constitution." But all to no purpose. Deaf to reason, impervious to appeals, and heedless of warnings, the Association rushed blindly on. Its directors made a *coup d'état*. They first issued their "Monthly English Edition of the *Volkszeitung*," then the "Supplement to *Vorwaerts*." Finally they "claimed the earth." Manifestly, the only course left to your National Executive Committee is to call for a general vote of the Party upon the question herewith submitted, namely:

"Shall the Party sever all connections between it and the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association; continue, through its National Executive Committee, the publication of its organs, *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, and demand from the said Association the unconditional surrender of all property belonging to the said organs, including their respective mailing lists and the amount of subscriptions paid in advance"?

Therefore the sections of the Party are hereby called upon to take

a vote on the above question; to report the vote cast, giving the exact number for and against, and send returns to the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, New York City, not later than August 1, 1899, on which day the vote shall close.

Signed in favor: ARTHUR KEEP,
ALVAN S. BROWN,
C. H. MATCHETT,
JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
PATRICK MURPHY,
LUCIEN SANIAL.

Dissenting: HENRY STAHL.

Countersigned and in favor:

HENRY KUHN, *National Secretary.*

New York, June 6, 1899.

THREE CHEERS FOR THE S. L. P.!

[Originally published in *The People* on July 16, 1899.]

To the Comrades, Friends and Sympathizers, and to the overwhelming majority of the 82,000 who last November did battle with the Socialist Labor Party at the polls:

A conspiracy of long standing against the Party came finally, last Monday, to a full head in this city and the ulcer was lanced by the loyal members. The center and organizer of the conspiracy was the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and its publishing association, that is to say, interests that are opposed to the Party's progress that have long been a drag to it everywhere, in this city in particular, and that, realizing their increasingly hopeless minority, decided upon a desperate *coup* to save themselves by throttling the Party through the capture and destruction of its press. The make-up of this element was roughly but sufficiently sketched in the article "Sign-Posts," of last April 2, and has been subsequently amplified by the addresses of the National Executive Committee to the Party and its friends.

The report of the last meeting of the general committee of Section Greater New York, held last Saturday, the 8th, and published elsewhere in this issue, was the beginning of the end. Unable, by fraud, to carry out their plan there, the conspirators then attempted violence. Falling in that, too, they speedily played their last card. The following Monday a call appeared in the *Volkszeitung* for a "special session of the general committee," called to meet on the very evening of that very day. The call could not possibly reach the English-speaking element, and, above all, was wholly illegal; the general committee cannot be called in extra session but by the city executive committee; a handful of men calling themselves "delegates" cannot arrogate that power; but the call bore the mark of illegality in other respects: among the "callers" of the "special session" figures the Liedertafel, which had been dissolved by action of the general committee, ratified by general vote.

In response to this "call," the *Volkszeitung* element met in the evening; that Kangaroo body called itself the "General Committee of Section Greater New York," and proceeded to carry out its programme. That programme contemplated but one thing: to bag the Party, kill it if necessary, by destroying its national press—*The People* and the *Vorwaerts*. In order to do so, the National Execu-

tive had to be removed. The Kangaroo general committee undertook the job.

Under the expressly stated provisions of the Party's national constitution, the National Executive Committee is elected, and, where needed, suspended, by a general vote of "the section or sections located in the city chosen as the seat of the N. E. C." The City of Greater New York being chosen as the seat of the N. E. C., the N. E. C. is chosen or suspended by *all* the sections located in Greater New York. Located in Greater New York there are, besides "Section Greater New York" (which comprises mainly the former Manhattan and Kings counties), a number of other sections located in Richmond and Queens counties, besides such strong language bodies as the Scandinavian Section. The power vested by the national Party in *all* these sections to elect, or suspend, and temporarily fill vacancies, was usurped by the *Volkszeitung's* Kangaroo general committee of "Section Greater New York" alone, itself a wholly unrepresentative body even of "Section Greater New York" itself, which henceforth will continue to meet in larger number and more enthusiastic than ever in the performance of the Party's work, being now freed from the incubus of the *Volkszeitung* delegates—it "deposed" the N. E. C., and "filled the vacancies." Even if that Kangaroo body were a legal body, and not the fraud it was, it alone had no power to depose the N. E. C. and elect substitutes. Being the fraudulent contrivance that it was in fact, all its transactions are rendered all the more ridiculously null and void.

But matters did not end there. It was essential to the conspiracy to render the Party forthwith tongue-tied. These gentlemen cannot stand in the light of day; public information is a thing they recoil before. *The People* and *Vorwaerts* had to be forthwith captured, so as to prevent all information from reaching the comrades and readers, leaving the *Volkszeitung* small traders, anarchists, usurious money-lenders and pure and simple corruptionists the floor all to themselves. Accordingly, no sooner had they "deposed" the N. E. C., when a mob of at least fifty of them, consisting of a large percentage of non-members of the Party, marched down to *The People's*, *Vorwaerts'*, and the N. E. C.'s offices (which were situated in the *Volkszeitung* building; on their way were armed down stairs in the *Volkszeitung's* office with clubs and murderous bludgeons; and attempted to break into the Party's premises. The scene that ensued will be ever memorable to all who witnessed it.

The People, the *Vorwaerts*, and the headquarters of the N. E. C. occupied the third floor of the *Volkszeitung* building. The "call" that appeared that morning in the *Volkszeitung* for a "special session of Section Greater New York" carried distinctly the odor of the proverbial rat. In the course of the day, the premises occupied by *The People*, the *Vorwaerts*, and the N. E. C., were set in a state of defense. By 10 p. m. about twenty-five picked comrades were on their posts. Shortly before midnight, the membership of the new "National Executive Committee" began to put in their appearance, demanding admission "by virtue of their offices." Admission was denied them; a

parley ensued; and then suddenly the armed rioters made a rush up the stairs. The anteroom became a field of battle; fierce did the conflict rage for fully ten minutes; blood flowed freely. Among the wounded comrades who that night defended the property of the Party, aye more, its insignia of office and the Party itself against the mob of reactionists organized by the *Volkszeitung*, were Comrades John and Charles Keveney, Owen Diamond, Arthur Keep, Peter Flebiger, Max Forker, Henry Lightbourn, Henry Kuhn, Gould and Steinberg. The wounded were promptly taken care of, new forces moved to the front, and the *Volkszeitung* crew, despite its numerical superiority, began to lose ground. At that moment the police, attracted by the crowd that gathered on the street, forced their way up the stairs, stopped the fight, and began ordering everybody out, even threatening to lock up all. Again, at that moment, the Party's officers saved the situation. The police officers had to recognize that the editors of *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, as well as the National Secretary, were on their own premises, and in possession, while the *Volkszeitung* crowd, on the contrary, were equally evidently in the posture of men committing a breach of the peace. While this discussion was going on, the members of the board of directors of the *Volkszeitung*, guided by their own and a shyster lawyer's stupidity, stepped in and unwittingly aided the Party officers. These board of directors' people, seeing that their rioters had been successfully resisted and very thoroughly clubbed, had no more stomach for fight; they promptly pledged themselves to the sergeant at the police station, whither they had rushed in despair, that there would be no more fighting, that they would leave those in possession in quiet possession, and that all they wanted was "a guarantee that nothing would be removed from the premises"! Their own admission of who was in possession was promptly turned against them. "They admit," said the Party officers, to the police, "that we are in possession; so we are; you so find us; as to whether the property on this floor shall remain with us or not, that is a question that involves proprietary rights, and is not for you to decide; that is for the courts to decide; your duty now is, finding us in possession, to protect us against housebreakers; we now call upon you to clear that gang out!"—and the individual rioters were pointed out with the order: "Put this man out!" The order was executed; the Party remained in peaceful possession that night; the next day, Tuesday, all its property on its premises, that is to say, all the insignia of its authority, together with all the furniture, was removed to the new headquarters, under the very nose of the baffled and impotently tooth-grinding *Volkszeitung* crew, gathered in knots all day in the neighborhood—the lager beer anarchist, Justus Schwab, among them.

* * * * *

There are doubting Thomases, who, even when they see the ears of a rat wiggling and the tail of the rat wriggling, hesitate to conclude that a rat lies in between; they think it may possibly be a cow, a hippopotamus, a lamb, perchance. The more clear-headed know that between the ears of a rat and the tail of a rat only a rat and noth-

ing else can be. The conduct of the *Volkszeitung* and its backers, centered in the publishing association, has for quite a while clearly enough denoted the *rat*. Many doubted. To-day they can doubt no longer. The anarchist conduct of the Kangaroo general committee, which was essentially nothing but an adjourned meeting of the reactionary publishing association, culminating with the attempted and evidently well prepared physical assault upon the Party premises, settles the point.

The *Volkszeitung* element, with its set contempt for this country and its persistent ignorance of our people's language, history and life, had long been a mill-stone around the neck of the Party, in this locality particularly; the Party's progress made the Party more and more intolerable to them; the mill-stone, fortunately, has at last worn out the bonds that tied it to the Party's neck; the mill-stone is now rolled off.

Section Greater New York, whose aggressive and progressive element typifies the Party throughout the land, holds now more vigorously as well as enthusiastically than ever, the Party's banner on high.

* * * * *

The rapidness with which things have developed, and the crisis itself, prevented the Party's officers from being at all points prepared. This happens especially with our national press. The press and business office material as well as large sums of money belonging to both *The People* and the *Vorwaerts* were wholly in the possession of the Party's foes. As a result, the *Vorwaerts* cannot appear this week, and may be forced to discontinue. It will be the duty of *The People* readers to promptly convey this information to the unprepared German comrades, readers of the *Vorwaerts*; the sheet they will henceforth receive through the German mailing list that the Party gathered, but is now stolen from it, will be only a rehash of the hopelessly vicious, stupid, unscrupulously mendacious and hostile daily, *Volkszeitung*. Let them spurn the fraud.

With *The People* things stand better. Though all that belonged to it could not be rescued in time, some has been rescued—among these is part of the mailing list—but its money remains stolen. Most of our readers will receive the paper in due time, but many will not, owing to *The People* also being robbed of its latest mail list. But this inconvenience and many minor ones will be overcome. Let the comrades and friends notify all the readers whom they know; a new and full mailing list will soon be in shape again, and greatly enlarged, as the inevitable response of an indignant Party to the disgraceful conduct of traitors that long remained masked in its ranks.

TEN YEARS LATER.

[Originally published in *The People* on July 23, 1899.]

Under the title "Ten Years Later," Dumas wrote one of his most interesting, instructive and thrilling historical novels. The historic tale to be unfolded here in this article under the identical title may be found equally interesting, instructive and thrilling, if not more so, and inspiring besides to the student, especially the lover of the Movement in America.

Ten years ago, the Socialist Labor Party was a "Party" in name only. It is essential to a political party, first, that it be a pulsation of the national life of the country itself in which the party springs up; and, secondly, that it be politically active. That which ten years ago called itself the "Socialist Labor Party," lacked both essentials. The organization was not born of the throbbings of life in America; it was the result of political turmoils in Germany; in the quarry of American political development, it was not a formation of this soil: the organization was like gravel that one often finds upon ground of different geologic formation, shot off thither by volcanic eruptions from distant parts. As an inevitable result hereof, political activity, or anything deserving the name, was excluded. The membership located mainly in New York, limited itself to "agitation"—after a style; but they knew not their ground, evoked no response, and, owing to the frequently repulsive mannerisms of their principal spokesmen, were often even laughed at and despised; they grew disheartened; the less intellectually honest, valner and less informed, like Alexander Jonas, Julius Grunzig, Hermann Schlueter and others, imputed their failure, not, as in fact, to their own shortcomings, but, to use their own words, to the "hopeless stupidity and corruption of the American people"; and thus, by degrees, the "Party" shrank into social clubs—singing and drinking and card-playing societies, with an occasional outing when a member died, and periodical celebrations in which thrilling speeches were delivered by themselves to themselves.

While this development was going on, there were others setting in also. Years ago the earnings of labor were higher; a thrifty mechanic, who did not object to pinching himself some, could lay by money in bank. With the development of the capitalist system, earnings declined, savings became harder to make and jobs rarer to get.

Driven out of the shop by improved machinery and concentrating capital, the workmen with savings in bank fell back upon that, and started small stores, in short rebounded into the middle class. One of the results of that—the seeming increase of the middle class—stumped the unscientific mind; the German Socialist, Edward Bernstein, concluded Marx was wrong, and the vulgar economists everywhere started new songs on the beauties of capitalism. Another result—the one we are here concerned with—was the changing of the angle of vision of the former workingman, who had become bourgeois. Speaking only a few years ago of the intellectual decline of the German Social Democracy, August Bebel referred to the numerous workmen in Germany, who, being victimized by reason of their political activity, had had to be provided with small stores by the German Party, and, with their change of class interests, had slid off from their pristine clear-cut radicalism. The economic development of capitalism here, above referred to, that caused workmen with deposits to become small traders, wrought a like change in them. The change told strongly among certain German workmen.

There is a third development that needs mention. It is akin to the one last considered. The worker who had some savings, being thrown on the street by machinery, could fall back upon his savings and become bourgeois; the worker who had none, stood on the ragged edge of the abyss of labor-fakirism. Into that abyss fell not a few. Their unions became reactionary "pure and simple"; all sense of solidarity vanished; there was no longer a question of organizing and protecting the working class—the union became a means for those in it to get a job by and to put others out of their jobs; finally it ripened into an engine of capitalism, sold to the politicians by the leading fakirs.

Now, then, all these interests—the German labor fakir, the German bourgeois ex-workmen, and the singing, etc., society tired-out Socialist—clustered in this city around and centered in a German paper that, sailing under the name of Socialism, was, from its inception, essentially a practical business enterprise for its own employes. That paper was the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

The fishiness of the *Volkszeitung* was too rank to be concealed. Accordingly, about fourteen years ago, the "Party" element that was sound in mind and heart, found it advisable to establish a *bona fide* Party organ in the German language—*Der Sozialist*, subsequently named *Vorwaerts*, a weekly paper—and later managed to acquire another weekly, in the English language, named the *Workmen's Advocate*. The editors of these two papers, Rosenberg and Bushe, respectively, were like the rest of the "Party's" national officers, weak, insignificant men, wholly unfit for their responsible posts. Nevertheless, with all their unfitness, Rosenberg and Bushe saw a glimmer of light. A political party that is not in politics struck even them as absurd. Accordingly, ten years ago, they began to pull for political action. This was to immediately run foul of the *Volkszeitung*. The political field acts as a purifier; it makes havoc of false pretences. The *Volkszeitung* was the "organ of the S. L. P." in this city. More

or less labored articles on Socialism did it no harm, and an occasional good word for the then misnomer of a Socialist Labor Party was profitable: without these monkeyshines the paper could not, as it was doing, drain the Party of funds—funds drained under the pretence of “upholding the Party press.” That was all right. But actual politics, the putting up of an S. L. P. ticket and thus “hostilizing customers and advertisers” (*among the latter of whom political candidates of the capitalist parties appeared not infrequently*)—that was a horse of a different color, that would not do!

The *Volkszeitung* forthwith began to nag at the then editors of the Party organs. Rosenberg and Bushe, being the light weights they were, allowed themselves to be angered, and finally driven into a preposterous, wholly untenable and mischievous position. Having got them there, and thus isolated from the rest of the “Party” members, whom the deep villany of the *Volkszeitung* intrigue escaped, the *Volkszeitung* crowd rose in self-righteous indignation. “Something had to be done quick”; “the Party had to be saved”; and more of such cant, until the “Party” membership having been seasoned by such a campaign of perfidy, the *Volkszeitung* crowd found it safe to carry out their scheme. One night they broke into the Party’s premises, took the two papers and all their belongings; sacked the two editors, and bounced the National Executive Committee—and that was the end of that, in 1889.

Ten years have rolled by since—ten years equivalent to fifty. The very necessity that the *Volkszeitung*, together with its disreputable appendages, was under to disguise its real purpose behind a false issue, left it uncovered against the real danger that it had sought to escape—*political action by the S. L. P.*

At the same time that the affairs of ’89 were going on in the “Party,” a Socialist movement, to the manner born, was being throbbled into existence by the throbs of the nation itself. That movement went into the existing S. L. P., and transformed it. The very next year it unfurled its banner in the political field and held it. The *Volkszeitung* element was defeated. They vallantly sought to accommodate themselves to the inevitable, but could not; bankruptcy began to stare the *Volkszeitung* in the face; every year that passed made their element’s position more unbearable: in front, the accelerated development of capital rendered the labor fakir and the tax-paying small trader more and more desperate, while the magnificent progress of the Party, with its increasing revolutionary ardor, was burning them in the rear. For some time the foul interests of ten years ago had been plotting to ease their straits; their manoeuvres to nag the Party’s officers into blunders suffered shipwreck one after the other and were turned upon them; then, all else proving unavailable, they staked their all upon a headlong *coup* that should strangle the Party—and failed ignominiously. Self-pilloried before the membership of the whole country as raw-boned violaters of the Party constitution; beaten back, in the battle of the 10th instant, from the Party’s premises that they now again sought to capture by surprise and violence—all as narrated in last week’s issue; and subsequently

outgeneraled in their attempts to starve the Party and bar it from the post-office, they are to-day, July, '99, a physically and morally shattered crew.

* * * * *

The year '99 is ten years later than '89. The S. L. P. is no longer a social club located mainly in New York. Within the last ten years its inspired apostles and its press have, with words of fire, cast abroad the rejuvenating spark, kindled the flame of class-consciousness in America, and planted the standard of the Social Revolution in the land. The S. L. P. has become a Party, indeed; it has leaped the boundaries of the city and State; it spread out north, south and west, and now extends from ocean to ocean, honored, respected, feared, over 80,000 strong.

In 1899, the S. L. P. is no longer the concern that can be bagged by the canaille of capitalist society.

GENERAL VOTE ORDERED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE S. L. P.

[Originally published in *The People* on August 6, 1899.]

Comrades: At its regular weekly meeting of Tuesday, August 1, the National Executive Committee took a full survey of the situation created by the *Volkszeitung* conspiracy, and of all the previous events bearing a relation to it, with the following result:

Outside of the City of Greater New York (where the conspirators, with their sympathizers and their dupes constitute a hopeless minority of the membership of the Party in the said city, such as it was before the *Volkszeitung's* abortive *coup d'état*) the whole country, with the exception of three hotbeds of local selfish machination, stands as firm as rock in support of the National Executive Committee.

The three exceptions are as follows:

1. Philadelphia, whose German so-called "Socialist" paper, *Tageblatt*, established on the same unsound financial principles, and consequently following the same lines of fakir-propitiating and middle-class-cajoling policy as the *Volkszeitung*, is a natural center of conspiracy against the Party. Philadelphia has been suspended, and is to be forthwith reorganized with its faithful element.

2. Chicago, that since the dark days of the anarchists, has been morally, mentally and physically disrupted, and whose present aspiration to become the seat of the National Executive Committee is egged on by the ambition of the *Workers' Call* to become the national official organ of the Party in place of *The People*. Chicago is of little importance, but it is vigilantly watched, and its loyal and honorable element is ready to take proper action as soon as the occasion may call for it.

3. Cleveland, until yesterday the seat of a traitorous and incapable Board of Appeals, but now suspended, and about to be reorganized, as will be seen from the resolutions published below. There, also, an ambitious newspaper clique—the *Citizen* clique—is the center of machination. Cleveland has long been watched by the National Executive Committee, and the developments there are significant. In the first place, before the dispute of the *Volkszeitung* with the Party had reached an acute stage, Alexander Jonas, one of the chief plot-

ters of the New York band, secretly visited Cleveland, and specially "saw" the members of the Board of Appeals. From that time the decisions of that board began to be more remarkable than ever. Already then the Cleveland Sections had gradually become dominated, in part by half-brained confusionists, and in part by a labor-fakir element that joined the Party for self-protection in the pursuit of its trade. Men of the latter sort, finding that the red card did not afford them the security they sought, now turned around and used it in an attempt to smash the Party. Kenney, the national secretary of the Brass Workers—whose president, Lynch, has been repeatedly nailed in the columns of *The People*—typifies this element, while the feather-brained, vainglorious confusionists, who, falling short of distinction in Populism, sought to fish in the rising S. L. P. for what they had failed to catch in the sinking hull of the P. P., are best typified by Hayes and Bandlow. From Ibsen's letter to the latest achievement of the Cleveland Sections and the Board of Appeals in recognizing the *Volkszeitung's* Kangaroos, without even giving the N. E. C. previous notice of its trial for life and pre-arranged execution, the facts are so well known to the readers of *The People* that there is no need to state them here again. In reply to the latest performance of the "Cleveland Comrades," the following resolutions and action of the National Executive Committee speak for themselves.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The Party's constitution provides in unequivocal language that, in case of the suspension of the National Executive Committee, the only body that is to pass upon such action is the whole membership of the Party by referendum vote;

Whereas, The National Board of Appeals, located in Cleveland, O., has put the climax upon its long list of ridiculous, indecent and even treasonable decisions by itself presuming to pass upon the late alleged "suspension" of the National Executive Committee, thus arrogating to itself the functions of the Party referendum, and thereby even usurping the sovereign rights of the whole Party's membership;

Whereas, Such conduct is all the more flagrant in view of its being an attempt to uphold the admittedly illegal methods pursued by the organizers of the said alleged "suspension," wholly subversive of the Party constitution, which the Board of Appeals is pledged to uphold, and additionally flagrant in that not even the forms of judicial decency were observed and the side decided against given an opportunity to be heard; and

Whereas, The Sections of Cleveland, O., have by a majority vote, sustained the Board of Appeals in its usurpation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Sections of Cleveland be, and hereby are, suspended, and the National Secretary is ordered to proceed to reorganize the Sections with the members who vainly sought to avert treason in their ranks; and

Whereas, This suspension of the Sections of Cleveland inevitably carries with it the temporary suspension, as a member of the Party, of each and every member of the Board of Appeals, even though he may not be a party to the traitorous conduct of said board, and may immediately recover his membership in the reorganized Section;

Resolved, That, acting in accordance with Sec. VI, Art. 5, of the Party constitution, the National Executive Committee hereby appoints Section Providence, R. I., to choose a temporary Board of Appeals, that will act until the referendum vote hereinafter called for shall have taken place; and

Whereas, Every step of the National Executive Committee has always—and most especially since the reckless attacks made upon it by

the *Volkszeitung* conspirators—been carefully taken with a strict regard for the Party constitution, so as to challenge any possible insinuation that it assumed powers which it did not clearly possess; and

Whereas, The condition created by the necessary suspension of the Sections of Cleveland is without a precedent;

Resolved, That the present action of the National Executive Committee, taken, as aforesaid, in accordance with Section VI of Art. 5 of the constitution, is hereby submitted to a referendum vote of the Party for approval or rejection; and

Resolved, That by the same referendum vote, nominations be made for the seat of the Board of Appeals; and

Whereas, The only possible settlement of the pending issue—inasmuch as such an issue has been brutally forced upon the membership of the Party—is for the said membership to stand up and count itself, namely:

1. On one side, those who, fully imbued with the spirit of Revolutionary Socialism, stand by the National Executive Committee and are determined to maintain at any cost and at all hazards, the constitution, platform, tactical resolutions, and self-enforced discipline of the S. L. P.; to exact from the officials of their Party organizations, national, state, and local, the utmost vigilance and honesty in the enforcement of the Party policy; to strongly uphold the hands of such of those officials as are faithful to their trusts, and to sternly deal with such as may show weakness, indecision, or treachery under the guise of tolerance and freedom;

2. On the other side, those who countenance factional opposition to the Party policy, *coups d'état à la Volkszeitung*, and exploitation of the Socialist spirit of brotherhood and self-sacrifice for the benefit of private, corporate, or banded schemers; and

Whereas, Between two such elements as have just been described, there can be no more "harmony," no more "compromise," than between Revolutionary Socialism, which the first one intelligently and honestly represents, and "Bourgeoisism" (or Middle Class Capitalism), of which the other is the stupid or knavish cat's-paw;

Resolved, That by the same referendum vote hereby ordered to be taken concerning the above matter, the Party is also hereby called upon to answer the following question: "Is the course of action followed by the present National Executive Committee since it entered into office on March 28th, 1899, approved or disapproved?—Yes or No?"

The vote shall close on September 9, 1899.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, *National Secretary.*

New York, Aug. 1, 1899.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECAPITULATION OF THE MAIN INCIDENTS OF THE PARTY'S CONFLICT WITH THE VOLKSZEITUNG.

[Originally published in *The People* on August 20, 1899.]

December 14 and 19, 1898—The *Volkszeitung* attacks editorially the Party's trade union policy.

December 25, 1898 and Jan. 1, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* is reprimanded by *The People*.

December 28, 1898—The editors of the *Volkszeitung* are censured by a unanimous vote of the Board of Directors of the Volkszeitung Publishing Association.

January, March, 1899—Meetings of the Socialistic Cooperative Publishing Association, where the Party's policy is denounced and a spirit of defiant disloyalty is exhibited.

February 12, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* publishes a falsified account of the criticisms uttered in the New York General Committee on Henry Stahl, Emil Kirchner and other nominees for the National Executive Committee.

February 25, 1899—For thus misleading and prejudicing its readers in a matter affecting an important Party vote, the *Volkszeitung* is condemned by the General Committee.

March, 1899—During the voting for the National Executive Committee, the *Volkszeitung* element makes violent efforts to secure a majority on that committee. To accomplish this, house to house visits, the circulation of slanders and even vote-packing are resorted to. The Liedertafel, eager to help along this plan of packing the Party's National Committee with enemies of the Party's policy, casts more votes than the number of its members in good standing.

March 22, 1899—Canvass of the returns of the election for the National Executive Committee. The result shows the following vote for the leading upholders of the Party's policy:

Kuhn	578	votes.
Sanial	683	"
Matchett	565	"
Keep	426	"
Brown	397	"
Murphy	366	"
Kinneally	364	"

as against the following vote received by the seven leading candidates of the *Volkszeitung* element:

Kirchner	234	votes.
Stahl	329	"
Neppel	153	"
Fahl	150	"
Nueske	135	"
Ey	88	"
Woodruff	76	"

March 23, 1899—The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association endorses the *Volkszeitung's* editorial attacks on the Party's policy. The majority of the board of directors (Peter Flebiger, R. Glaser, Samuel Jacobson, M. Halder, and H. Vogt) resign, and a board is elected composed of opponents of the Party's policy.

April 2, 1899—*The People* publishes the article headed "Sign-Posts," reviewing the debates in the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

April 11, 1899—The Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association appears before the National Executive Committee and demands that a reply for the "Sign-Posts" be inserted in *The People* of April 23rd, or 30th (May 1st), such reply to be published without previous inspection either by the National Executive Committee or by the editor of *The People*. The National Executive Committee resolves that it cannot act on the demand until the reply has been submitted.

April 16, 1899—The Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association submits its reply to the National Executive Committee. Their attention is called to the many misstatements of facts contained therein; they are told that, if an end to the discussion is sincerely desired, nothing inaccurate should be said that would lead to further controversy and that, if they will revise their reply in accordance with the facts as pointed out to them and not denied, the reply will be inserted. The board answers that they have no time to revise; the National Executive Committee consequently rejects the reply.

May 1, 1899—The National Executive Committee issues its statement on the "Situation in New York."

April 29, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* issues its "Monthly English Edition," and uses the mailing list of *The People* for distributing it.

May 23, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* smuggles a bogus "supplement" into the *Vorwaerts*.

May 15 and 24, 1899—The National Executive Committee demands explanations.

May 27, 1899—The New York General Committee adopts by a two-thirds majority a report showing the spirit of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association to be as characterized in the "Sign-Posts" article, and passes a motion demanding the subordination of the Association and of the editorial management of the *Volkszeitung* to the decisions of the Party.

May 30, 1899—The Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association sends a letter to the National Executive

Committee, not only claiming absolute property rights over the *Volkszeitung*, but also presuming to assert such rights over the national Party organs, *The People* and *Vorwaerts*.

May 31, 1899—The National Executive Committee decides to issue a call for a general vote on the question as to whether all connection with the Socialistic Cooperative Publishing Association shall be severed, and the Party shall demand the unconditional surrender of all property belonging to the national Party organs.

June 14, 1899—The Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association publishes in the *Volkszeitung* a notice asking the Party members to postpone voting until a full statement of the *Volkszeitung's* side of the question has been laid before them. As a reason for this request, it is alleged that an affirmative vote on the proposition of the National Executive Committee would mean a judgment of condemnation of the *Volkszeitung*, "and at the same time the expulsion from the Party of hundreds of good Party members." This falsehood about the threatened expulsion of hundreds of German members was circulated for the purpose of inflaming the German comrades against the majority of the Party.

June 20, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* announces editorially that a detailed reply to the statement of the National Executive Committee would be "quite useless," as it "could hardly have any effect on the decision of the vote."

June 21, 1899—The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association seeks to choke off the general vote by adopting a resolution that *The People* and the title of the *Vorwaerts* be immediately turned over to the Party. At this meeting L. Jablinowsky, a *Volkszeitung* reporter, foreshadowed subsequent events by declaring that "we"—the *Volkszeitung* element—"are the Party and can put the Party to rights in the same way we did in 1889."

June 23, 1899—The Board of Appeals informs the National Executive Committee that it has entertained an appeal of Henry Stahl, who wants the general vote on severing connection with the *Volkszeitung* stopped as unconstitutional. This was the second attempt to stop this vote emanating from the Board of Appeals: the first one having been made by Ibsen, in his letter to H. Vogt.

June 28, 1899—The Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association notifies the National Executive Committee that it has decided to terminate the contracts with the Party on July 15, 1899, and asks for the appointment of a committee to discuss details.

July 5, 1899—A special committee of the National Executive Committee meets a sub-committee of the Board of Directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association. The former reminds the latter of the fact that the general vote will not close until August 1, and that it would be a defiance of the Party for the board to insist on an earlier date. The committee of the board agrees to consult the other board members as to the date.

July 7, 1899—The committee of the *Volkszeitung* board notifies the National Executive Committee that the contracts for the publication

of the Party organs must come to an end on July 15, and asks for a new conference. The committee of the National Executive Committee appoints Monday, July 10th (mark the date), at 8 p. m. as the time for another conference.

July 8, 1899—Meeting of the New York General Committee which the *Volkszeitung* element had planned to pack and, if necessary, to control by physical force. Physically "strong" delegates had been selected in the branches dominated by the *Volkszeitung* element. These delegates and other sympathizers were notified to be in the meeting room before 8 o'clock p. m., and they were instructed to vote, whether they were properly admitted or not. When H. Vogt, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, seeing that on the *Volkszeitung* side delegates whose credentials had not yet been passed upon and even non-delegates were voting (for instance, two members of the "Liedertafel," which had been dissolved as a branch), tries to make a point of order against this illegal voting, a row which the *Volkszeitung* had evidently premeditated breaks out. A concerted attack is made on certain comrades. Sieburg shouts: "Kill Vogt!"

Waldinger, a suspended member, uses a club; Nagel, the president of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, grasps and uses the chairman's gavel as a weapon.

July 9, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* publishes a lying account of the meeting of July 8th. One of the falsehoods contained in this report was to the effect that the first act of violence had been committed by Arthur Keep, who had struck Hilquitt. This falsehood was nallied by Comrade Kihn, of the Brooklyn American Branch, who interviewed Hilquitt and obtained from him the admission that Keep had not touched him. In a letter from Hilquitt, read at a Philadelphia Section meeting, the same admission was contained.

The fact that the row of July 8th was started by the *Volkszeitung* element, according to a pre-arranged plan, was confessed by C. Schneppe, one of the directors of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, in a conversation with Comrade Gleiforst of the Sixth Assembly District, Brooklyn, which took place on the 9th of July in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Schneppe referred to the row as a "lesson given to the young American element in the Party," and said that that lesson had been prepared in a number of meetings held during the last few weeks.

July 10, 1899—A call appears in the *Volkszeitung* for a special meeting of the general committee to be held *that very night*. This call is signed by 33 delegates (out of 115 delegates composing the general committee), and by two representatives of the "Liedertafel," which was no longer a branch.

This illegal call was issued without an effort having been made to get the officers of the section to call a special meeting. Neither these officers nor the delegates were notified of the proposed meeting; only the organizer at about 7 o'clock p. m. on July 10th, that is, about an hour before the time named for the meeting, received a notice demanding that he be present with his books. This demand was, of course, ignored.

July 10, 1899—Forty-seven persons meet in the Bowery and declare

themselves the General Committee of Section New York; aye, they presume to be the whole Party of Greater New York. But few of these persons could produce credentials, their credentials having been on July 8th delivered to the regular Committee on Credentials; five of these persons, including two members of the "Liedertafel," would have been rejected as delegates at a regular meeting of the general committee; three of these persons acted against the will of their constituents in coming to this illegal meeting; one American comrade was present by mistake; he opposed by his vote all the proceedings that were taken, and he came downtown afterwards to assist in the defense of the Party's property. Of the 38 who could have been admitted as delegates at a regular meeting of the general committee, 34 were present on July 8th, and of these only 22 were entitled to vote at the time the row was precipitated.

The Bowery meeting carries out a cut-and-dried programme that had been agreed upon in the caucuses alluded to by Schneppe, and the immediate mode of execution of which was arranged in secret meetings held in the Volkszeitung Building during the night following the meeting of July 8th and on Sunday, July 9th.

This programme included the illegal suspension of the local, state, and national officers of the Party and an attempt to obtain by force possession of all the Party's property, documents and archives, and thereby to make it impossible for the regular officers to communicate with the sections and members. The success of this attempt would indeed have created temporarily the situation which the *Volkszeitung* mannikin Slobodin endeavors to picture to Comrade Viewegh of Indianapolis, Ind., in the following specimen of classic *Volkszeitung* "literature": If it is then your opinion of the wisdom of the act is of no weight, as it is done. You may vote and agitate against it when it is submitted to a general vote of the Party. *In the meanwhile you must submit.* [Literally quoted from a letter of H. Slobodin, dated July 25, 1899.]

To create a situation where the Party could be told that it must submit to the *Volkszeitung* regime, because the regular officers had disappeared without leaving a trace; that was, indeed, the motive that dictated the attempt of July 10th and determined the method of carrying it out.

As the *Volkszeitung* two days later, on July 12th, cynically confessed, "to think under existing circumstances of the regular remedies, would have meant to entirely misconceive the demand of the situation."

The "regular remedies" against the officers of the Party would have necessitated—

Firstly, A general vote on a motion to suspend, taken not only by Section New York, but by the other eight sections in Greater New York, namely, Scandinavian Section, Richmond County Section, and Sections Woodhaven, Wyckoff Heights, Glendale, Long Island City, Corona, and College Point.

Secondly, A general vote of the same sections on the election of temporary successors to the suspended officers.

Thirdly, An immediate general vote on the suspension by the whole Party of the country. [See National Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 1.]

During the taking of the first two votes the old officers would remain in office, as under the constitution no National Executive Committee can be legally in office that has not been elected by a general vote of the members of all the sections located in the territory selected as the seat of the Committee. Remaining in office, the old officers would continue to insist on the carrying out of the Party's policy, would insist on maintaining the Party's rights in its own organs against the *Volkszeitung's* claims, and would insist on warning the Party of the treasonable purposes of the *Volkszeitung* element against the Party's policy and against the Party's rights in its own press.

"Regular remedies" that would thus enable the Party to be on guard and protect itself did not meet "the demand of the situation" as it existed for the *Volkszeitung*. The regular remedies were, therefore, discarded, and a plan of campaign adopted that was to relieve the *Volkszeitung* at once of any further annoyance or interference by the Socialist Labor Party.

The plan was carried out by the holding of the Bowery meeting, by setting up a choice outfit of *Volkszeitung* mannikins as "The Socialist Labor Party," and by the midnight attempt to take forcible possession of the Party's establishment and sweep the Party's administration "off the face of the earth."

It is significant that the armed thugs of the *Volkszeitung* were led in their assault on the Party's office by John Nagel and F. W. Koenig, the president and secretary of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, who also composed the sub-committee that had been conferring with the committee of the National Executive Committee about the turning over of *The People* to the Party.

This sub-committee had been notified to meet the Party's committee in a further conference on *that very Monday night*.

They did not come at the appointed hour; they were then engaged in the unlawful Bowery meeting, carrying on that plan of campaign that was to relieve them of the trouble of meeting any committee that might have the impudence to assert the Party's rights against the property claims of the *Volkszeitung* corporation.

July 12, 1899—The *Volkszeitung's* mannikins meet as National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. and declare themselves in complete harmony with their maker, the *Volkszeitung*, by—

First, Denouncing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance;

Second, By endorsing the reactionary taxation policy of the *Volkszeitung*;

Third, By lauding the *Volkszeitung* as a most loyal and meritorious Socialist organ;

Fourth, By cancelling the general vote which the Party was taking on the *Volkszeitung*;

Fifth, By stigmatizing the rank and file of the Party who had upheld the Party's policy against the *Volkszeitung*, and who were upholding it in the general vote, as a lot of irresponsible nincompoops. [See statement of H. Slobodin in *Volkszeitung's People* of July 16,

and report of the *Volkszeitung's* National Executive Committee in *Volkszeitung's People* of July 23.]

July 13, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* presents to the postoffice authorities its claim of sole ownership of *The People*, and prevents the official organ of the Party from passing through the mails.

July 14-19, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* institutes proceedings to enjoin the Party from issuing its official organ, *The People*, claiming that the Party never had and has not now any right of ownership in *The People*; that the paper has been maintained entirely by "the efforts and capital" of the *Volkszeitung* Corporation; that the said corporation has incurred great losses in the publication of *The People*, amounting at the present time to a total of \$5,000, which the corporation expects and is entitled to make good from the profits which the paper, having become self-sustaining "through the efforts of the corporation," may now yield.

These proceedings, through which the *Volkszeitung* seeks to forever exclude the Party from any title to *The People*, bring out most strongly how much the *coup* of July 10 was "a demand of the situation" for the *Volkszeitung*. The Party outfit that the *Volkszeitung* set up on that night claims no rights against the *Volkszeitung*; on the contrary, it comes into court, and by an affidavit of its figurehead, H. Slobodin, backs up the exclusive property claims of the *Volkszeitung* over *The People*.

July 15, 1899—The regular General Committee of Section New York meets and suspends those branches and members of the section who, by assisting in the creation of the *Volkszeitung's* dummy party, have virtually read themselves out of the Socialist Labor Party. This meeting is attended by 76 delegates and many visiting comrades. Great enthusiasm prevails; a collection for *The People* yields \$48; a mass meeting in Cooper Union is decided on.

July 18, 1899—The National Executive Committee brings legal proceedings to enjoin the *Volkszeitung* Corporation from publishing *The People*, from using its mailing list, and from appropriating the mail and moneys intended for *The People*.

In support of these proceedings the National Executive Committee shows that the *Volkszeitung* since it became the publisher of *The People* for the Party, received through donations of sections and comrades, through the Daily People Committee, and through festivals held for the benefit either of *The People* alone or of *The People* and *Volkszeitung* jointly, an aggregate sum of about \$9,800, which must be credited to *The People* as against the alleged deficits of \$5,000.

July 24, 1899—Section New York holds its mass meeting in Cooper Union. In spite of the rainy weather, the large hall is packed to the doors, many are turned away, and an overflow meeting which is started about 9 o'clock is attended by 2,000 sympathizers. This is the largest meeting ever held by the Party.

July 26, 1899—Meeting of Section Philadelphia to hear the report of a committee sent to New York by the central committee. The committee adopted the fraudulent claims of the *Volkszeitung* as its own "findings." The information received from H. Kuhn, P. Murphy and H. Vogt was ignored or distorted.

The committee "found" among other things, that the *Volkszeitung* was supported by 750 members of Section New York out of a total of 1,186. The official reports, which are not in the possession of the *Volkszeitung*, show about the reverse proportion. This fact was demonstrated to the Philadelphia committee. But the majority of that committee preferred to accept the arbitrary claims of the *Volkszeitung* mannikins, which have since been denounced as fraudulent by one of the *Volkszeitung's* own organizations (the Twenty-First Assembly District, Manhattan).

The committee also "found" in its report that Keep did strike Hilquitt, although a letter to the contrary effect had been received from Hilquitt.

Barnes, who had not been appointed on the committee, but nevertheless went along, acted as its spokesman and drew its report, was so anxious to fix things as to sign Comrade Clarke's name to the report without first submitting it to him for approval. The exposure of this piece of manipulation greatly enraged Barnes, because it interfered with the scheme of getting Philadelphia to go solidly against the National Executive Committee under the pretext of "fairness" and "impartiality."

When this plan was further interfered with by the presence of Comrade Shulberg, he was, although a good-standing member of the Party, forcibly expelled from the meeting room, while Fred. Schaefer, of Brooklyn, who is under charges for having spoken in favor of the Debs Party, was admitted on producing credentials from H. Slobodin.

The "impartiality" game was played to its pre-arranged finish, though not with the completeness of success planned for. Section Philadelphia demanded—as a matter of "fairness" and "impartiality"—that the National Executive Committee, not being approved of by the *Volkszeitung* and its heelers, be punished by immediate decapitation; that the Board of Appeals, being approved by the *Volkszeitung* and its heelers, be rewarded by its promotion to provisional dictatorship; that all funds be withheld from the National Executive by the Sections in the State of Pennsylvania.

July 28, 1899—The *Volkszeitung* assembles its followers in Cooper Union. Although all the numerous sick and death benefit societies, cremation societies, singing societies, trade organizations and social clubs that constitute the *Volkszeitung's* movement have been called upon loudly and daily to each come in a body, the response is not sufficient to fill more than two-thirds of the Cooper Union hall. About one-third of the seats is occupied by loyal comrades who make their presence felt in unmistakable fashion. Even including this portion of the audience, the meeting is not one-half as large as the Party's meeting on July 24.

This meeting throws further light on the Philadelphia "impartiality" game by the appearance of Barnes and Fred. Long as champions of the *Volkszeitung's* dummy party.

July 30, 1899—The "impartiality" game receives further illumination by the appearance of Barnes in company with Franz Seubert, one of the directors of the *Volkszeitung* Corporation, at the Cleveland

Section meeting, and, by the effort the two make to have the members endorse resolutions of the Board of Appeals, passed on Friday, July 28. In these resolutions the board so far acts along the lines of the Philadelphia scheme as it assumes provisional dictatorship, and in the exercise thereof decrees the decapitation of the National Executive Committee; but it deviates from the Philadelphia plan in that it does not follow up its self-ordained omnipotence to an attempt at managing the executive business of the Party itself, as the Philadelphians suggested. The Board of Appeals leaves the glories and trials of such an attempt to the *Volkszeitung* Kangaroos.

Partly influenced by Barnes, the ally of the Philadelphia *Tageblatt*, and Seubert, the representative of the *Volkszeitung*, and partly by the influence of Hayes and Bandlow, the representatives of the Cleveland *Citizen*, the majority of the Cleveland Section decided to endorse the action of the Board of Appeals to recognize the Kangaroos and to order the Sections of the State, through the State Committee, to follow the same course.

August 1, 1899—The National Executive Committee suspends Sections Philadelphia and Cleveland, appoints Providence as the seat of the provisional Board of Appeals, and orders a general vote on the latter acts as well as on the general issue between the Party and the *Volkszeitung*.

CALL FOR A GENERAL VOTE.

[Originally published in *The People* on September 10, 1899.]

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY—

Comrades: The following resolutions and amendment of Section San Francisco, Cal., have received the endorsement of twelve Sections, namely: Peoria, Ill.; Belleville, Ill. (partial endorsement only); Bakersfield, Lompoc, Santa Clara County, and Riverside, Cal.; Columbus, O.; Adams, Mass.; Omaha, Neb.; Wichita, Kan.; Baltimore, Md., and Gloversville N. Y.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The Socialist movement in Greater New York, which is the seat of our National Executive Committee, is at present in a state of great disruption and is split up into a number of antagonistic factions; and

Whereas, The demoralization prevailing at present in New York has brought out national organization into such great disorder that the existence of the entire Socialist Labor Party is threatened; and

Whereas, We are at present confronted by a most dangerous condition which makes it immaterial for the movement at large as to which faction in New York is right or wrong, but which brings most prominently to the front the important question of how to restore order in the ranks of our Party; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Central Committee of Section San Francisco, S. L. P., in regular session assembled, demand that a national convention of the S. L. P. be called immediately for the purpose of restoring peace and order to the Party, and of deciding upon all questions relating to the welfare of the S. L. P.

Resolved, That we recommend Chicago as the place for the holding of our national convention.

Resolved, That we appeal to all Sections of the S. L. P. of the United States of America to call special meetings and endorse this step for the holding of an early convention and the settling of all disputes that have arisen in the Party.

AMENDMENT.

Resolved, That Section San Francisco, S. L. P., request that the special convention be held not later than November 1, 1899. All Sections of the S. L. P. in favor of this resolution are asked to immediately endorse it and forward such endorsement to H. Kuhn, Secretary of the N. E. C., 61 Beekman street, New York City, and to Section San Francisco, 915 1-2 Market street, San Francisco, Cal.

The propositions having been endorsed by more than five Sections in three different States, they are hereby referred to a general vote. But in submitting them, we find it our duty to emphatically advise

against the adoption of the same, and to lay before the members our reasons for such advice.

This proposition cannot be adopted without seriously crippling the Party in its regular work.

The Party must hold a nominating convention at the time when the Presidential canvass begins to attract attention. Nominations made at unusual times are apt to be contemptuously forgotten, after enjoying a passing attention such as is given to crank movements in dull season. Our campaign cannot be stimulated by the national convention unless the convention takes place at a time when national issues receive general attention, and when their issues have become sufficiently defined to be met.

The adoption of any proposition looking to the calling of a national convention during the present year would, therefore, mean that between now and July, 1899, two conventions will have to be held. That should be understood when the vote is taken.

Is it possible for the Party to hold two conventions within the space of ten months, and make both representative and successful? The Sections know that it is not. For Sections of less than fifty members, unless they happen to be situated very near the convention city, the expenses of one delegate will amount to more than the total of all the local dues during that period. And nine-tenths of all our Sections have less than fifty members.

If the holding of a special convention should, nevertheless, be attempted, it is evident that it would only be made representative at the expense of the regular convention of 1900—that is, at the expense of our real work.

The gravity of this danger might influence some Sections to reserve their resources for next year's convention and refrain from sending delegates to the special convention. The effect of such a consideration would not only be to make the special convention less representative, but to keep away from it Sections that have the success of the Party most at heart, and whose attendance is, therefore, most desirable.

Those Sections that would consider it their duty to secure representation at both conventions would be compelled to restrict their expenditures for agitation purposes, so that under all circumstances the proper work of the Party would be crippled, and its growth in voting strength impeded.

All these objections apply with added force to the proposition to hold a special convention on or before November 1st, a few days before the next election day.

A convention held at this time would also cripple this year's campaign. The party is engaged in an active campaign in the States of Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. These seven States contain one-half of the total number of Sections, and they cast, in 1898, 50,000 of the total Socialist vote of 82,000.

The holding of this convention before November 1 this year means that the Party's resources shall be drained, its campaign work interrupted at the height of the campaign in the most important sec-

tion of the movement's present field. It means that the Party shall be prevented from making that showing at the next election that it can make, and that it ought to be assisted in making by the whole Party of the country.

And it is proposed to lay this extra burden on the Party, after a period of extraordinary sacrifices enforced upon it by the necessity of the defense against a traitorous conspiracy!

It seems to us that, in view of all the circumstances, the proposition shows a reckless disregard for the best interests of the Party. Nor can it be claimed that the drawbacks of the proposition are outweighed by considerations of necessity. The attempt to show such necessity, made in the "Whereas" portions of the resolution of Section San Francisco, is as much at variance with truth as with Party loyalty.

The resolution is at variance with truth when it alleges that we are confronted by a most dangerous condition, that our national organization has been brought into such great disorder, and that the existence of the entire Socialist Labor Party is threatened.

The national administration of the Socialist Labor Party is in every respect "regular"; it has been orderly constituted and is working strictly and orderly in accordance with the Party's constitution.

We admit there might be a "regular" S. L. P. organization, which, if it did not represent the spirit of the Party, would no more be the real Socialist Labor Party than a kangaroo would be a lion, though he was rigged up in a lion's skin.

The essence of the S. L. P. lies in its uncompromising faithfulness for the revolutionary class interest of the wage workers. Its essence lies in its determination to concentrate the workers in a revolutionary organization that will never swerve until it has accomplished what it promises—the emancipation of the working class from exploitation and oppression; that will be satisfied with nothing but substantial results; that cannot be turned from its path by either the brutal or the insidious tactics of capitalism, neither by terrorism nor by deceptive concessions or treachery. The essence of the S. L. P. lies in the recognition of the fact that any but a clear-aimed revolutionary movement must be abortive; that, therefore, all interests or influences antagonistic to the revolutionary must be eliminated from the organization of the working class, and that only in so far as the organization has become completely emancipated from all such influences is it making any genuine and secure progress.

If ever the Socialist Labor Party organization should fall into the hands of an administration that did not represent its revolutionary essence, but was antagonistic to it, no degree of technical regularity would make such a thing the genuine Socialist Labor Party. In such a case the spirit of our movement would require the Party to contemptuously kick aside the kangaroo posing in the stolen lion's skin; or promptly supplant the "regular" fraud by an administration loyal to the revolutionary essence of our movement, and thus insure the continuance of its uncompromising course.

Even in such a case there would be no demoralization. A clear-aimed revolutionary movement is not demoralized because its official

machinery is tampered with. Otherwise it would be at the mercy of the ruling class that may, through tricky election laws and other abuse of power, pack with its agents the administration of any labor party.

In such a case there would unavoidably be some temporary disorder, and that might make the holding of an immediate convention necessary, not to "restore peace" with those who had sought to sidetrack the Party. No, the purpose would, on the contrary, be to consolidate the membership more thoroughly in the determination to resist all attempts at diverting the Movement from its true course.

The experience of the Party in the *Volkszeitung* conspiracy does not present any conditions that justify the calling of a special convention. The conspirators did not only fail in their main purpose—the derailing of the Party from its straight revolutionary lines—but they could not even produce disorder. The Party machinery has continued in the hands of the regularly constituted administrators, the affairs of the Party have continued to be orderly conducted; the Party's principles have continued to be fully upheld. The Party has continued intact, both in its organized form and in its revolutionary essence.

Where, then, is the "disorder"?

In an editorial published by the *Class Struggle*, in explanation of the motion of Section San Francisco, this statement occurs:

There is a double-headed national organization and two national organs bearing the same name. Whatever your opinion or mine may be as to which is right or wrong, the fact remains that some Sections recognize one head, some the other, and some neither. . . . This is chaos and confusion worse confounded.

So, there is chaos because the *Volkszeitung* conspirators did not immediately collapse after their defeat, but were desperate enough and had means enough—derived from the newspaper property that they stole from the Party—to set up an opposition outfit, and, because they got "some" Sections to recognize that outfit!

Section San Francisco does not claim that the said "some" Sections were justified in recognizing the opposition outfit; in fact, the Section has admitted that they were not, since it has not joined them itself.

No Section could be in doubt as to the fact that the National Executive Committee, regularly elected in March, 1899, fully represents the Party's will, or as to the purpose of the *Volkszeitung* being to overthrow the Party's will both in the matter of the Party press and of the Party policy. This was made perfectly clear by the very first acts of the pretenders—their attacks on the Party's trade union policy and their support of the *Volkszeitung* Corporation in its lawsuit for the absolute ownership of *The People*.

Sections that could be led to recognize a set of pretenders whose purposes were so manifestly hostile to the Party cannot be considered as reliable contingents of the Socialist army. Those who did so, gave their support to the enemies of the Party, and may be presumed to have done so because they sympathized with the purposes of

those enemies. This presumption is indeed the only possible explanation for their readiness to accept the claim of regularity for the proceedings of the Bowery meeting on July 10th, a claim of the absurdity of which one glance at the Party's constitution should have satisfied them.

Section San Francisco does not claim that the number of Sections recognizing the *Volkszeitung's* party outfit is large. Those who have followed the Party press know that it is not. It is impossible that it should be large. If those who sympathize with the conspirators in their antagonism for our uncompromising, revolutionary tactics con- absurdity of which one glance at the Party's constitution should have been pursued as aggressively as they were, the Party would not be what it is.

The alleged "disorder," "chaos" and "confusion" resolve themselves into this: There was in New York a minority element, moved by interests and influences utterly irreconcilable with the very essence of our Movement. That element became more and more rebellious against the Party's policy; it sought to prevent the Party from living up to that policy; it was an element of discord and disorder while it was in the Party. It sought to get control of the Party for the purpose of overturning its policy. After failing in accomplishing this by regular methods, it attempted to do so by the illegal and violent plan carried out on July 10th, and since by utterly ignoring the provisions of the constitution applicable to the case. Their plan failed again, and the discordant element was landed outside of the Party. In New York the previously divided house was restored to order. The element of disorder, having failed to capture the house of the Party, set up its own house; it could do so because of its stolen hold on the Party's newspaper property.

There were in a few other cities of the United States elements also moved by influences and interests irreconcilable with the Party's uncompromising tactics. The circumstance that the New York conspirators had been able to set up an opposition home, fitted out in imitation of the Party, served those other discordant elements as a pretext to refuse recognition of the regular Party house, and show their true colors in open rebellion against the Party policy that had ever been intolerable to them.

The "disruption" that had taken place is the separation of discordant elements from the Party. The Party has gotten rid of much disorder that existed in its ranks, and the path has been cleared for marching ahead in a more than ever aggressive and unshakably solid revolutionary phalanx.

We find it quite natural that the *Volkszeitung* conspirators should very much dislike to see the Party proceed on its way, without being disconcerted by their futile ambush. They must wish the Party to show the effects of their attack. Having failed to vanquish it, they must wish it to appear weakened.

It is natural for them to exaggerate the injury they have done. And those who speak, as Section San Francisco does, of the Party as being in a state of disorder, confusion, chaos, play into the hands of

the conspirators. The eagerness of the latter to make use of the San Francisco proposition is significant.

We urge upon the members the importance of showing firmness in dealing with this situation. It would be offering a premium for schemers and traitors if the impression should go forth that any desperate gang of such may at any time—even in the height of a campaign—throw the Party into hysterics, cause it to exhaust its resources and bring its work to a standstill.

The National Executive Committee, although it could have, under the constitution, insisted that both time and place of the proposed convention be treated separately, concluded to treat the matter as a special proposition and to submit it to the membership, stating the reasons why such a convention is not in the interest of the Party and why the proposition should not be sustained; the Committee did so, believing that the bulk of the Party's membership is neither hysterical, nor at a loss to understand and size up the situation at this late day.

The San Francisco proposition resolves itself into three distinct points to be voted upon, as follows:

1. *Shall a special national convention be held?*
2. *Shall such convention be held in the city of Chicago, Ill.?*
3. *Shall such convention be held not later than November 1, 1899?*

This vote shall close on the 10th day of October, 1899. Reports must be in on or before that day, so that the full result can be published in the issue of *The People* dated October 15th.

The reports will be published successively as they come in each week, and thus give indications as to how the vote is running.

Reports must be made in figures on special voting blanks that will be sent to every Section.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, *National Secretary*,
61 Beekman Street, New York City.

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